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ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST

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TORONTO

The Buffalo Hunt on the Great Plains, 1855.

ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST

HOW WE WON THE LAND BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI

BY

KATHARINE COMAN

AUTHOR OF

"THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES"

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

Illustrated

New York

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TO

THE TRUSTEES OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE

WHO HAVE GENEROUSLY ALLOWED ME FOUR YEARS'

LEAVE OF ABSENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

OF RESEARCH

AND TO

THE TRUSTEES OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

WHO HAVE RENDERED THESE *WANDERJÄHRE*

FINANCIALLY POSSIBLE

THIS BOOK

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

For three centuries possession of the Far West, the vast unknown that lay beyond the Mississippi River, was in dispute. The maritime nations of Europe who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contended for control of the north Atlantic coast and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, were engaged at the same time in a less dramatic but no less fateful tug of war for the great rivers, the arid plains, and the wind-swept coasts of western America. France through her fur traders laid hold on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the net-work of lakes and sluggish streams that stretch from the Great Lakes to the Canadian Rockies. Soon after the Peace of Paris had given Canada to Great Britain, the indomitable Scotch traders of Montreal carried their enterprises across the Rockies to the Pacific. Long before this, Spanish *conquistadores* and Franciscan missionaries had found their way over the lofty plateaus of northern Mexico to the headwaters of the Rio Grande and along the western foot-hills of the Coast Range to the harbors of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. Spanish ships had already explored the coast well into Arctic waters and, while missing the key to the Northwest, the Columbia River, they had established the title of the most Christian Prince to all of the Pacific slope south of the Russian settlements. Unquestionably, Spain and Great Britain would have been engaged in an unequal controversy

for possession of the richest portion of North America, but for the intervention of a new claimant. The young Republic that had wrested the eastern half of the Continent from the British empire and purchased Louisiana from France, did not long hesitate to demand the Floridas, Texas, New Mexico, California, the watershed of the Columbia River, and Puget Sound as her rightful inheritance.

As to the political and diplomatic merits and demerits of this struggle for possession, a mere economist will not attempt to decide. Our province is rather to suggest the underlying economic conditions that determined the outcome of war and treaty and race competition, and to reveal the bread and butter struggle that must ever result in the survival of the fittest, — the ablest to utilize the resources of a virgin territory. The controversies waged between the United States and Great Britain in Oregon and between the United States and Mexico in Texas and California were adjudicated in advance of diplomatic award by thronging settlers whose political and economic vision no less than their superior industrial efficiency made them masters of the coveted country. The self-employed and self-supporting farmer took possession of the land in a sense not to be disputed. The great estates of the Spanish régime, cultivated by forced labor, and the trade monoply maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company stifled normal development; but the American ideals of free land, free labor, and equal opportunity struck so deep root in this propitious soil that they could not be dislodged.

A goodly number of the men who bore an influential part in this long and complex contest left diaries,

letters, or journals recounting what they saw and did. I have endeavored to tell the story as they understood it without bias or elaboration. For the completion of this task grateful acknowledgments are due to the officials of the Bancroft Collection at the University of California, of the Public Library at Los Angeles, the Oregon Historical Society at Portland, the L.D.S. Historian's Office at Salt Lake City, the Crerar, Newberry, and Public libraries of Chicago, and the Boston Public Library, who have rendered me patient and ungrudging service. I am also deeply indebted to my brother, Seymour Coman, and to my generous friend, Katharine Lee Bates, who read the proof and contributed many valuable hints as well as unfailing sympathy and encouragement.

KATHARINE COMAN.

The Scarab,
Wellesley, August 12, 1912.

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EXPLORERS AND COLONIZERS

VOLUME I

PART I

THE SPANISH OCCUPATION (1542–1846)

NEWHOUSE'S BEAVER TRAP

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ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST

CHAPTER I

THE EXPLORERS

The men who undertook to carry the Spanish flag into the vast unknown that lay to the north of Mexico were handicapped by certain prejudices or mental obsessions. The store of precious metals discovered in the realms of Montezuma and of the Incas rendered every less evident form of wealth unattractive to them. The search for Cibola, for Quivira, for California, was abandoned when they became convinced that the fabled riches were not there. The lure of gold had blinded the eyes of the *conquistadores* to the far greater wealth to be derived from the fur-bearing animals, the schools of fish, the forests, the fertile soil, the latent mineral resources of these unexploited lands. Moreover, the Spaniards, while a maritime people, were not successful navigators. The Spanish ships that explored Pacific waters (to say nothing here of the Atlantic) had for pilots, and sometimes for commanders, Italians and Portuguese or even Greeks. Spanish adventurers preferred *terra firma*, and their most important discoveries were made by overland expeditions. Inured to the saddle, they made extraordinary marches across stretches of desert that

would have appalled another people, but they rarely took to boats. To them a river was an obstacle, not a guide, and thus they missed the most feasible routes into the interior.

A lasting handicap on Spanish colonization projects was the short-sighted policy that reserved all New World revenues to Spain and her immediate representatives. The commercial legislation promulgated by the Council of the Indies was based on the theory that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. Not only must all the bullion exported be sent to Spain, but also certain agricultural products, such as coffee, sugar, dyestuffs, and precious woods. All trade must be carried on in Spanish vessels and between the ports of Cadiz and Vera Cruz. No man not of Spanish blood might engage in trade, and any colonial caught in a commercial transaction with a foreigner was liable to confiscation of property and possibly death. That the colonies might furnish a market for domestic products, manufactures and the cultivation of grapes and olives were proscribed. This was a far more oppressive system than the British Board of Trade imposed on the Atlantic coast colonies at the behest of English manufacturers. It was Spain's irreparable misfortune that there was no element of resistance in her colonial population; her ruinous mercantile system persisted, by consequence, till both mother country and colonies were exhausted. The natives suffered in silence, knowing nothing of the rights of man, and the corrupt Spanish officials were ready to connive at illicit practices in return for a share in the profits.

The government revenue dwindled year by year, until the expense of maintaining control of the dependencies was greater than the income derived. Spain's colonial empire was precisely the richest portion of the New World, but it was administered on a plan so suicidal that all the advantage of these vast possessions accrued to a few hundred indolent, selfish, and overbearing grandees. The processes of decay received a temporary check at the hands of Charles III and his far-sighted premier, Florida Blanco. *Laissez-faire* economics found a hearing at court, and the policy of the mercantilists was abandoned. The monopoly by which a few merchants of Seville had absorbed all the profits of the trans-Atlantic trade was broken up, and ten open ports competed with Cadiz for this privilege. The registered fleet sailed down the Guadalquivir for the last time in 1778, the year of the "free trade" edict. This law did not accord to the colonies absolute freedom of trade, but the number of their open ports was increased, the duties levied in legitimate commerce were reduced, and freer play was given to colonial enterprise.

No less destructive of colonial development was the practice of granting great estates to Spaniards and requiring forced labor of the natives. It was an undemocratic custom that promoted individual wealth, but sapped the springs of general prosperity. Spanish enterprise was restricted to agriculture, mining, and such primitive manufactures as could be carried on by peons. Industries that demanded zeal and intelligence languished wherever undertaken.

Finally, the quality of the migration from Old and New Spain must be taken into account. It was peculiarly non-economic. There was a notable lack of the merchants and artisans who shaped the industries of New England. In the Spanish social order, the soldier and the priest far outranked the breadwinner. The wisest of the viceroys and governors recognized the importance of establishing colonies of small farmers, men with families to provide for and homes to defend; but there were few such citizens in New Spain. The mother country sent to her American possessions soldiers, administrators, friars, adventurers and grandees, but not laborers.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spain was the leading European power in North as in South America. Cortés and his successors subjugated the Aztecs of Mexico with astonishing rapidity and imposed the Spanish language, religion, and a feudal aristocracy upon the realm of Montezuma. Within the present area of the United States, Spanish explorers had to do with the regions most difficult to penetrate. The Colorado Desert, the arid plateaus of New Mexico and Arizona, the *llanos estacados* of Texas, presented obstacles that would have seemed insuperable to men of Anglo-Saxon origin; but to adventurers from the Iberian peninsula, desert and mountain and sandy waste were familiar and unterrifying phenomena. The Spanish occupation was practically coincident with that portion of the United States which is most comparable to Spain in rainfall, vegetation, and climate.

Section I

The Route to the Orient

To explorers sailing under the Spanish flag, Europe owed its earliest knowledge of the vast ocean that divides America from the Orient. Their achievements tore apart the veil of mystery that enveloped the "South Sea" and revealed to the soberer enterprise of Holland, France, and England a vast continent. Belief in a sea-to-sea passage that should give Europe direct access to the Indies survived the theory that the New World was a mere archipelago. Gaspar Cortereal, the Portuguese navigator, professed to have sailed through such a strait somewhere above Labrador (1500), and his vaunted discovery found place on the earliest maps of the New World as *Fretum Anium.* Early in the seventeenth century, credence in this and like traditions was revived by the report that a Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, sailing under commission from the viceroy of Mexico, had explored a channel on the north Pacific coast which opened into a wide sea dotted with islands wherein he cruised twenty days without reaching the bounds of it, and that he had finally found his way through to the Atlantic. This notable discovery rested on the unsupported testimony of an English merchant, Michael Lock, who published the story (1619) as he got it from the old pilot and who petitioned Queen Elizabeth to furnish him with an outfit with which to follow up the clew. No record of such an expedition has been found in the Mexican archives;[1]

but the narrative was accepted by Raleigh and Purchas, and the latitude of the supposed channel and de Fuca's description of it correspond with surprising accuracy to the strait that now bears his romantic name. Cortés, Mendoza, Philip II, and Charles III were each bent on the discovery of this great commercial opportunity; but when Balboa proposed to cut a ship canal through the narrow isthmus he had crossed, the suggestion was scouted as impious by the most bigoted of Spanish kings.[2]

No sooner was Cortés secure in possession of Mexico than he began to prepare for the exploration of the west coast, being persuaded that the South Sea was part of the Indian Ocean and that the Spice Islands lay not far beyond the setting sun. He was sure that new lands equally rich in gold and silver and equally helpless against European weapons must await him there. The great *conquistador* devoted twenty years to this enterprise and sent out four expeditions at his own expense. In 1522, three years after his first landing at Vera Cruz, he set about building caravels at Zacatula, his newly established port on the Pacific coast; but the machinations of his rival, Guzman, hindered the enterprise, and not till 1532 did the first ships get under way. Mutiny, adverse winds, and the hostility of the natives wrecked this and the second expedition, but the survivors of the latter brought back intelligence of an island opposite Colima where they had anchored in a beautiful harbor and found Indians fishing for pearls. This promising discovery Cortés determined to prosecute in person, and in 1535 he marched

north to Chiametla with a party of seven hundred soldiers, settlers, and priests. The colonists were shipped across to the pearl harbor (Santa Cruz) in the expectation of founding there a Spanish settlement; but the land proved rocky and barren, and the people perished for lack of food. The great conqueror was not a colonizer, and the year following he was obliged to bring away the wretched survivors. Francisco de Ulloa, who commanded the fourth and last expedition (1539), followed the coast of the mainland to the head of the gulf, then west and south along the east shore of the peninsula to the Bay of Santa Cruz, rounded Cape San Lucas and sailed north again to Magdalena Bay and Cedros Island. The vast estuary revealed by this voyage he named the Sea of Cortés, and the mountain mass which he failed to circumnavigate, he called California, in the stubborn faith that it would yet prove as rich in precious metals as the fabulous island of Esplandian.[3]

In 1540, Cortés sailed away to Spain never to return to the New World. His project of exploring the west coast to find the Spice Islands or, better still, the sea-to-sea passage that should give Spain direct access to Asia, was espoused by the Viceroy Mendoza. This powerful statesman fitted out two ships and commissioned Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator of repute, to take possession of all discovered lands in behalf of the king of Spain. The little fleet covered Ulloa's route to Cedros Island, but, pushing on to the north, rounded Cabo Bajo and sailed into a fine harbor, later known as San

Diego. As Cabrillo followed up the coast, the mountains fell away, and he anchored in an island-girt channel opposite a fertile valley and a populous Indian village, which he called the Pueblo de los Canoas because the natives came out to the ship in rude wooden boats (Santa Barbara Canal). Beyond the low promontory at the upper end of this roadstead (Point Conception), Cabrillo's ships were caught by the northwest winds that prevail along this coast throughout autumn and winter. Beating his way in the teeth of the tempest and forced again and again to take shelter under the lea of the shore, Cabrillo finally rounded a wooded point (Point Pinos) and anchored in a spacious bay which he called Bahia de los Pinos. As it was now midwinter and the incessant storms rendered further voyaging hazardous, the hardy Portuguese turned his weather-beaten prows south at last and sought a safe anchorage in the "Canal." There on San Miguel Island the daring navigator died (1543). His task was bequeathed to his loyal pilot, Ferrelo, and he in the following spring, the winds proving favorable, returned to Bahia de los Pinos, passed Punta Año Nuevo and Punta de los Reyes, missing the estuary that lay between, and so sailed up the coast to a precipitous headland which, in honor of the "good Viceroy," was named Mendocino. Here storms overtook the venturesome explorers, and provisions ran low; but Ferrelo pressed on till he sighted Cape Blanco and then, very reluctantly, gave up the quest.

Mendoza's second project, no less far-seeing than

the discovery of the Strait of Anian and much more practical, was the occupation of the group of islands that Magellan had encountered on the edge of the China Sea. If they could be brought under subjection, Spain would attain the long-coveted access to the trade of the Orient. In the same year that Cabrillo explored the northwest coast, Villalobos was despatched across the Pacific to make conquest of the Philippines (1542). He failed, but the task was not abandoned, a seven years' war broke the spirit of the natives, and by 1573 the Spanish government was established at Manila. Soon a considerable commerce was developed between Macao, Manila, and the Pacific ports, which persisted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was highly profitable to the merchants concerned. Every year the Manila galleon set out from Acapulco or Callao freighted with silver. This, the staple product of Mexico and Peru, was exchanged for spices, porcelains, cottons, and other Oriental luxuries, suited to the pampered tastes of the Spanish grandees. West-bound vessels were carried by the prevailing winds and currents directly across through tropic seas, but the return voyage must be made far to the northward, in the path of the Japanese Current, until Cape Mendocino was sighted; thence the northeast trades could be relied on to waft the home-bound galleon to Acapulco. It was a long voyage, six months at best, and the storm-driven mariners were often forced to take shelter in some inlet along the coast where they might find wood and water. Wrecks were not infrequent, and

the need for a well-provisioned port at some convenient harbor became each year more apparent.[4]

This traffic, so rich and so defenceless, did not escape the notice of Spain's sworn foes, the English buccaneers. Drake and Hawkins and other Devon worthies had been wont to loot towns and capture treasure ships on the Spanish Main, but to challenge the dons' monopoly of the South Sea was a task of greater hazard. Drake, however, was nothing loath. In his little frigate, the *Golden Hind*, he rounded South America, threading the Straits of Magellan (1578–1579), and, making swiftly up the west coast, fell upon the unfortified settlements and heavily laden galleons of Peru and Mexico and easily stuffed his hold with booty. Not wishing to risk all by returning the way he came, this glorified pirate proceeded up the California coast, seeking that open passage to the Atlantic in whose existence every mariner of his day firmly believed. He passed Cape Mendocino and ran north to the forty-third or the forty-eighth parallel; but encountering head winds and bitter cold, he came to the conclusion that there was no thoroughfare from west to east, since the coast "was running continually northwest as if it went directly to meet with Asia."[5] Turning south, the *Golden Hind* anchored in "a convenient and fit harbor" below the projecting headland now known as Point Reyes, and there her commander, fully assured that no Spaniard had ever set foot upon this shore, took formal possession in the name of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and called the land New Albion. Following a confiscated Spanish map, Drake then

steered across the Pacific, and so, by way of the Philippines and the Indies, returned to England (1580), having fairly won the knighthood that awaited him. The horror-struck Spaniards believed that the *Golden Hind* had come and gone through the Straits of Anian and that Britain had discovered a secret entrance to the South Sea. Their fear and wrath were intensified by the advent of other English freebooters. In the very year of the Armada, Sir Thomas Cavendish ravaged the coast towns of Mexico and even succeeded in capturing the Manila galleon.

To the masterful mind of Philip II, such adventures as those of Drake and Cavendish were intolerable, and he undertook to forestall further encroachment on Spain's monopoly of the South Sea by strengthening his hold upon the west coast. The viceroy of New Spain was therefore instructed to take measures to colonize and fortify the harbors of California. Vizcaino, the man intrusted with this important enterprise, had already (1596) and at his own cost planted a colony, La Paz, on the bay where Cortés' company had perished, with intent to prosecute the pearl fisheries. It was shortly after destroyed by the Indians; but, nothing dismayed, Vizcaino undertook, at the king's behest, a survey of the outer coast, in the expectation of finding suitable sites for colonization. His chronicler, Fray Antonio de la Ascension, records that an agricultural community was proposed, together with garrison, mission, and trading post. The Indians were to be taught to till fields of wheat and corn, domes-

tic animals were to be introduced, and vineyards and orchards planted. An experienced pilot, he followed the course taken by Cabrillo, noting and giving the present names to the harbor of San Diego, the Santa Barbara Canal, Point Conception, the Santa Lucia range, and the Carmel River. The wide bay between two wooded points, Cabrillo's Bahia de los Pinos, Vizcaino thought might serve as refuge and supply station for the Manila fleet and named it, in honor of the then viceroy, Monterey. Here he landed his sea-worn crew and erected, under a great oak, a rude barricade and a wattled enclosure where mass was said and the ceremony of taking possession of the country performed. After laying in fresh provisions and such brackish water as the vicinity afforded, Vizcaino pursued his northward course. He anchored a few days under Punta de los Reyes in a bay indicated on later Spanish maps as Puerto de San Francisco (now Drake Bay), and then, following up the coast, he rounded Cape Mendocino and Cape Blanco, but was unable to better Ferrelo's record. Near the forty-third parallel, he noticed a passage or river mouth (Coos Bay ?) which he hoped might be the entrance to the Strait of Anian, and he named the alluring fiord Martin de Aguilar, after the lieutenant who attempted to explore it. He was forced to abandon this clew, for his crew was stricken with scurvy — that curse of Spanish explorers — terrific gales drove his vessels out of their course, and he was obliged to return without having discovered the much-desired passage to the Atlantic. Vizcaino was deeply impressed with the necessity of founding a

colony at San Diego, San Bernabé, or Monterey as a halfway station for the Manila fleet, and he urged this project on the viceroy and at Madrid. Philip III sanctioned the enterprise (1606) and designated Vizcaino for its execution. But the great navigator, now an old man, died before the arduous preparations were complete, and, its master spirit gone, the statesmanlike plan was abandoned.

Section II

The Seven Cities of Cibola

The third of Mendoza's great enterprises was directed to the interior of the continent in search of the seven cities of Cibola and their fabled wealth of gold and precious stones. Rumors of a populous country to the north had been brought to Mexico in strange fashion. A military troop engaged in kidnapping slaves on the Rio del Fuerte in Sonora came upon four gaunt and naked men who consorted with the natives, but spoke Spanish. They proved to be the survivors of Narvaez' ill-fated voyage along the west Florida coast. They had escaped the shipwreck and, following up the San Antonio River, had crossed the wilderness of plain, mountain, and desert that lay between the two gulfs, spending eight desperate years (1528–1536) in achieving the two thousand miles. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the leader of the haggard band, told how they had been befriended by nomad Indians who brought from cities in the north cotton cloth, tanned leather, turquoises, and emeralds.

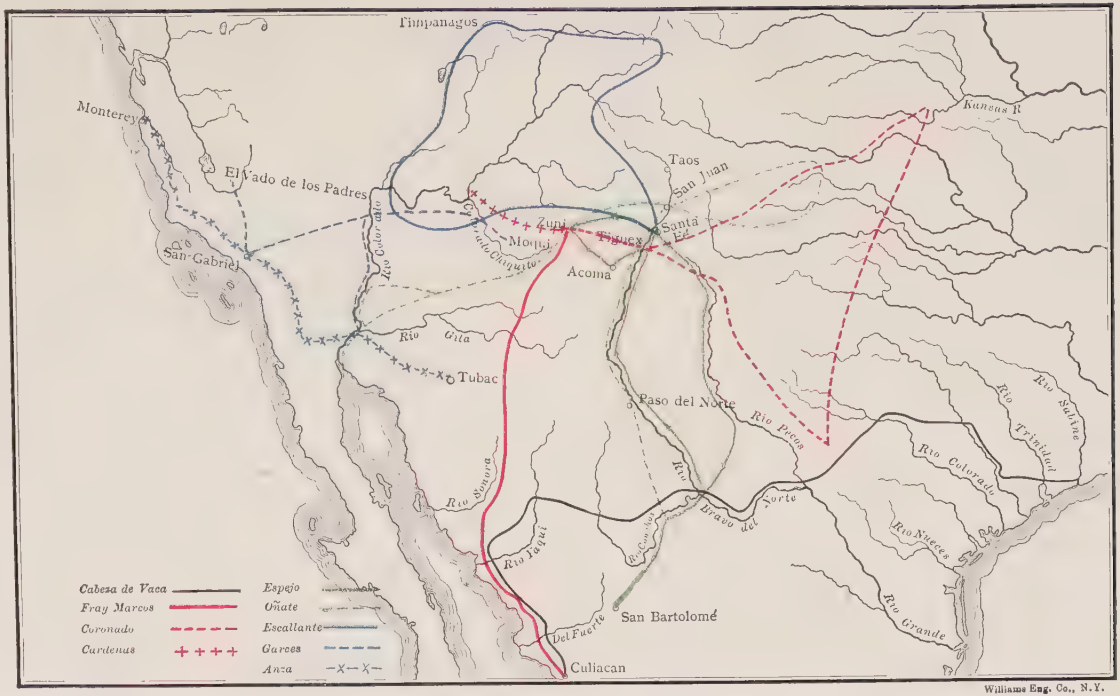
Mendoza surmised that the northern cities might prove as rich in loot as the Mexican *pueblos*, and he commissioned Marco de Nizza, a Franciscan friar, to explore the country and verify the report of its wealth. Fray Marco's only companion was a negro, Estevanico, who had been one of Cabeza de Vaca's party. They succeeded in reaching one of the communal villages, probably of the Zuñi, but were not admitted by the jealous inhabitants. As the friar gazed upon the walled town from a distance, he thought it larger than the city of Mexico and doubted not it harbored as great treasure. On his return, Mendoza's emissary reported all that he had imagined and the Indians had told him of the fortified cities of Cibola. His account was seized upon by the credulous treasure-seekers and exaggerated as it passed from mouth to mouth. Wondrous tales of the wealth of the Seven Cities, their gold and silver and turquoises, spread throughout all the Spanish-speaking lands and attracted a swarm of adventurers to the quest. In 1540, Coronado, then governor of Culiacan, with the aid and approval of the viceroy fitted out an expedition, and three hundred Spanish cavaliers volunteered to accompany him. Fray Marco, who had been preaching the new crusade to enthusiastic congregations, joined the party as guide and spiritual counsellor. It was "the most brilliant company ever collected in the Indies to go in search of new lands," says Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler of the enterprise, and it was equipped as befitted so worshipful a company. Eight hundred native allies and one thousand negroes and

Indian servants followed the cavaliers, and droves of animals, extra horses and pack mules, oxen, cows, sheep, and swine by the thousand. Two ships under Alarcon were sent up the coast carrying relays of provisions and the heavier baggage. They reached the head of the gulf and anchored at the mouth of a great river which Alarcon called the *Buena Guia* (good guide), in the hope that it might guide him to the Seven Cities. Learning from the Indians, however, that the land party was thirty days in advance, he turned back to Acapulco with his cargo of supplies.

Coronado, meantime, was driving his unwieldy caravan across leagues of desert. The party sent forward to reconnoiter the country returned after an exhausting march and reported that they had seen nothing but sand. Fray Marcos, however, assured the doubters that there was booty enough ahead "to fill every man's hands," and courage was restored. The difficulties of the march were enhanced by the aristocratic pride of the grandees. "Mendoza would have liked very well," says Castañeda, himself a foot-soldier, "to make every one of them captains of an army, but the whole number was so small, he could not do as he would have liked."[6] Jealousy and insubordination weakened the effectiveness of Coronado's force from start to finish. It took some time for these titled gentlemen to learn how to adjust their packs and firmly cinch the load to the mule's back, and many valuable things were abandoned on the road. "In the end necessity, which is all-powerful, made them

skilful, so that one could see many gentlemen become carriers, and any one who despised this work was not considered a man." The first signs of hostility proved terrifying to the novices. "Some Indians in a safe place," says Castañeda contemptuously, "yelled so that, although the men were ready for anything, some were so excited that they put on their saddles hindside before; but these were the new fellows. When the veterans had mounted and ridden around the camp, the Indians fled."[7] On the edge of the desert they halted at Chichilticalli, which proved to be a ruined pueblo, "summed up in one tumble-down house without any roof."[8] Coronado "could not help feeling somewhat downhearted," for he knew that his faith in the riches of the Seven Cities depended wholly on what the negro and the Indians had said.

Arrived at the goal of his great enterprise, Coronado found Cibola "a little crowded village, looking as if it had been all crumpled up together." "There are ranch houses in New Spain that make better appearance at a distance."[9] The disappointed treasure-seekers turned on their unlucky prophet. "Such were the curses that some hurled at Fray Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them." The good father abandoned the expedition at this point "because he did not think it safe for him to stay in Cibola, seeing that his report had turned out to be entirely false, because the kingdom that he had told about had not been found, nor the populous cities, nor the precious wealth of gold, nor the precious stones which he had reported, nor the fine



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ROUTES OF THE SPANISH EXPLORERS.

clothes, nor other things that had been proclaimed from the pulpits." [10] Cibola was in fact a communal pueblo, three or four stories high, just such as may be seen in Arizona or New Mexico to-day. Built of stone and adobe with solid exterior walls and narrow, tortuous entrance, the pueblo-dwelling was as difficult of access and easy of defence as a fortress. At sight of the Spaniards and their horses, the Zuñi took refuge within the walls, and Coronado's little force proceeded to storm the place. It was defended by two hundred warriors who hurled stones with considerable effect from embrasures cut for this purpose; but they were eventually overcome. Once within the gate, the Spaniards searched for treasure, but they found only a little unpalatable food. This was, however, thought Castañeda, "the thing they were most in need of."

Meantime the bulk of the army, with the pack trains, was making its way slowly across the desert. No serious difficulties were encountered save that the Indian allies were incapacitated by the cold and had to be carried on horseback, and that the Spaniards suffered from severe headaches brought on by eating the prickly pear preserves offered by the natives. Our chronicler opined that by this beverage "the natives might have done much harm to the force if they had wished"; [11] but fortunately for the fate of the expedition there was more wholesome food to be had. "The country is so fertile that they do not have to break up the ground the year round, but only have to sow the seed, which is presently covered by the fall of snow, and the ears

come up under the snow." "In one year they gather enough for seven." [12] Forced requisition on the neighboring pueblos secured *tortillas*, salt, corn meal, and *piñons* (pine nuts), and "a large number of cocks with very big wattles" (the American turkey). The "Quires" had a little cotton cloth, too, and excellent blankets, well-tanned deerskins, and the hides of an animal new to the Spaniards.[13] They judged from the pictures drawn on the skins by the natives that this was a kind of cow (buffalo), but the "hair was woolly and snarled so that we could not tell what sort of skins they had." [14] A sufficient supply of food and clothing was thus available, for refusal to contribute to the necessities of the conquerors was punished by hanging the offender. The terrified people made little resistance. Rumors of the horrible strangers "who travelled on animals which ate people" spread throughout the region, and presents were sent in to placate the mysterious powers. At Cibola, Coronado heard of a great river, twenty days' journey to the westward, and he sent Cárdenas to explore it. The party discovered the Colorado of the West, which they called the Tizon or Firebrand River. The description Castañeda gives of the Grand Cañon is quite as accurate, though perhaps less picturesque, as the descriptions of modern travellers.[15]

The approach of winter suggested the necessity of ampler quarters than Cibola afforded and a new base of supplies. Tiguex, a pueblo lying some distance to the east on the Rio del Norte, was determined on, and the whole army marched thither.

"As it was necessary that the natives should give the Spaniards lodging places, the people in one village had to abandon it and go to others belonging to their friends, and they took with them nothing but themselves and the clothes they had on." [16] Various outrages, including the burning of a village, finally nerved the long-suffering inhabitants to expel their unwelcome guests. The Spaniards laid siege to the pueblo and displayed such strength as induced the defenders to surrender on promise of amnesty. Unfortunately for Coronado's reputation among them, a captain who had not been informed of the peace pledges put two hundred of these prisoners to death. The natives, convinced that the intruders were not to be trusted, retreated again to their houses, determined to resist to the uttermost. The siege lasted fifty days and, although its result was a foregone conclusion, the loss of the Spaniards was severe. Many were killed by stones and arrows shot from the parapets, and all suffered from lack of food and shelter. Nearly all the Indians were killed. They were shot down by the soldiers or were drowned in the attempt to ford the river, or, having succeeded in escaping the doomed town, perished miserably of cold and hunger. Coronado was at great pains to reassure the people of the neighboring pueblos as to the pacific intentions of the Spaniards; but the "twelve villages of Tiguez were not repopulated at all during the time the army was there, in spite of every promise of security that could possibly be given to them, nor could any pueblos be persuaded to receive a Spaniard within their gates." [17]

It was difficult to believe that the famous Seven Cities were nothing more than these miserable pueblos, and Coronado determined to press farther into the interior. At Pecos there was found an Indian slave, a native of the country towards Florida, who told marvellous tales of the riches of his tribe. "He said that the lord of that country took his afternoon nap under a great tree on which were hung a great number of little gold bells, which put him to sleep as they swung in the air. He said also that every one had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate, and that the jugs and bowls were of gold." [18] It was not difficult to persuade Coronado to undertake the pursuit of this new will-o'-the-wisp, the glib-tongued "Turk" offering to serve as guide.

In May of 1541, when the river was clear of ice, the army crossed the Rio del Norte and marched eastward over a "spacious level country" to find the golden city of Quivira. The rich spring herbage of the "staked plains" (*llanos estacados*) filled the Spaniards with astonishment. "Who could believe that 1000 horses and 500 of our cows and more than 5000 rams and ewes and more than 1500 friendly Indians and servants, in travelling over those plains, would leave no more trace where they had passed than if nothing had been there — nothing — so that it was necessary to make piles of bones and cow dung now and then, so that the rear-guard could follow the army." [19] "It was impossible to find tracks in this country, because the grass straightened up again as soon as it was trodden down." Even the native Indian guides were obliged

to mark their trail. "They kept their road in this way: In the morning they notice where the sun rises and observe the direction they are going to take, and then shoot an arrow in this direction. Before reaching this, they shoot another over it, and in this way they go all day toward the water where they are to end the day." [20]

There was no lack of food for the invading army. The plains were traversed by "an incredible number of cows," who fed on the luxuriant grasses and moved about in search of water and the salt that gathered on the surface of stagnant pools. "They came across so many animals that those who were on the advance guard killed a large number of bulls. As these fled they trampled one another in their haste until they came to a ravine. So many of the animals fell into this that they filled it up, and the rest went across on top of them." [21] From the Querechos,[22] the "Arabs" of the plains, the Spaniards learned how to prepare *charqui* (dried buffalo meat) to carry on their northward journey. These Indians told Coronado of a great river to the eastward, lined with settlements and thronged with canoes. A scouting party was immediately sent out to find the most direct route, but they returned shortly, saying that "in the twenty leagues they had been over they had seen nothing but cows and the sky." The pursuit of this clew was therefore abandoned.

Arrived at an eastward-flowing river (the Brazos), Coronado determined to go no farther in this direction. There was no trace of Turk's golden city,

and the Querechos asserted that the real Quivira lay far to the north. It was therefore decided that the army should return to Tiguex, while Coronado with a picked escort of thirty cavaliers set out on the new trace. The perfidious Turk was taken along in chains. He later confessed that he knew nothing of the promised gold, but had been induced by the Tiguas to lead the Spaniards into the plains and lose them there — a treachery which cost him his life.

A forty-eight days' march directly north brought Coronado to the long-sought "city," a wretched collection of huts, belonging to the Wichita Indians. The strangers were peaceably received, but "neither gold nor silver nor any trace of either was found among these people, although their lord wore a copper plate on his neck and prized it highly." Some time was spent in exploring this region, and scouts were sent as far north as the Kansas River, but without the hoped-for result. The country was found to be fertile and salubrious, reminding the wanderers of Spain. Plums, grapes, nuts, and mulberries grew wild, as well as oats and flax; but the charming prospect had no promise for these infatuated treasure-seekers. Convinced at last that he had been duped, Coronado turned back to Tiguex. His Indian guides led him by a direct route along the Great Bend of the Arkansas over what later became the Santa Fé Trail.

The winter in the desert had demoralized the army. The Tiguas were irreconcilable and would furnish no provisions, the soldiers were almost

THE PRIMITIVE BUFFALO HUNT.
Before the Indians secured guns and horses.

naked and worn down with many privations, the few blankets that had been secured were the occasion of bloody strife, and the men were quarrelling with their officers over the apportionment of work and food. Malcontents began to mutter that theirs was a wild-goose chase, and that they would perish in this wilderness to no purpose. Soon after his return to Tiguex, Coronado was thrown from his horse and lay for some time at death's door. The murmurs grew louder, and the men began to petition their commander to lead them back to New Spain. When every captain had signed the petition and physician and friends urged retreat, Coronado was persuaded to abandon his search. He had a young wife and children and large estates at Culiacan, and he yearned to see home again. When his decision was announced, there was great rejoicing among the rank and file; but certain resolute souls determined to continue the quest. They begged permission to remain with sixty picked men and a suitable equipment, vowing that they would find the golden city or perish in the attempt. Alas for the honor of Spain! few soldiers would volunteer for this dangerous service, and the retreat of the whole army was finally ordered (April, 1543). Two devoted friars were the only Spaniards that ventured to stay behind. Father Juan de Padilla insisted on returning to Quivira to found a mission there, and Father Luis remained with his converts at Pecos.[23]

The return journey was a disgraceful rout. Coronado had forfeited the respect of his men when he yielded to their importunity. No sooner had the

army reached Culiacan than the soldiers began to desert. When he finally arrived at the City of Mexico, he had only a bodyguard of one hundred all told. "His reputation was gone from this time on."

Castañeda found difficulty in reconciling himself to Coronado's inglorious retreat. "It was God's pleasure that these discoveries should remain for other peoples, and that we who had been there should content ourselves with saying that we were the first who discovered it and obtained any information concerning it." [24] But not even Castañeda, with his zealous faith in Quivira, had any conception of the real value of the Great Plains or of the mighty river to the east. "As for entering from the country of Florida and from the North Sea, it has already been observed that the many expeditions which have been undertaken from that side have been unfortunate and not very successful, because that part of the country is full of bogs and poisonous fruits, barren, and the very worst country that is warmed by the sun." [25]

Other Spanish explorers, penetrating this same region from the east and seeking no less eagerly than Coronado the rich country described by Cabeza de Vaca, had no better success. Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, set out from Havana in 1539 and fought his way to the great river called by Piñeda (1519) El Espiritu Santo. He crossed the mighty current at a point somewhat below the Arkansas (Chickasaw Bluffs), visited the hot springs and salt lakes of that valley, and ascended the Mississippi itself to within a short distance of the Missouri.

Finding no trace of treasure cities, he returned to the Arkansas and there died (1542), a ruined man. His men, under the leadership of Moscoso, marched seven hundred miles west, up the Red River to the neighborhood of Pecos, where they found Indians who had pottery and cotton cloth and turquoises, and learned of Coronado's expedition from a slave who had escaped from his camp. Abandoning all hope of finding the treasure cities, they turned back. Once arrived at the Espiritu Santo, they built seven brigantines, launched them on the river, and made the two hundred and fifty leagues to its mouth without accident. Thus De Soto and his lieutenant Moscoso explored the lower Mississippi over a thousand miles, from the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, and they knew the Red and Arkansas rivers; but these discoveries had no significance for them. A river was a barrier, not an open highway, and the Rio del Espiritu Santo was abandoned and forgotten. It figures on the Spanish maps of this period as an insignificant stream.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIZERS

The decadence of Spain and the disintegration of her colonial empire set in with the loss of the Armada. Men of energy and devotion abandoned the service of the state for that of the church, and the nation was bereft of political leadership. Demoralized by plunder, the colonial officials appropriated to their own uses the funds destined for defence and neglected their administrative duties. The government of New Spain, intent on immediate revenue only, leased the mines and the pearl fisheries to private individuals, and converted the production of quicksilver, tobacco, and salt into profitable public monopolies. Large land grants were awarded to favored grandees, and with each estate went the right to command the labor of the native villages found upon it. The *encomienda* [1] served a triple purpose,—it enabled the proprietors to work the soil or the mines, brought the Indians under control of the political and ecclesiastical authorities, and furnished them with money with which to pay the head tax required of all adult males. The royal decrees minutely and humanely prescribed the limits of this labor requisition, but the practical effect of the system was to reduce the natives to a serfdom embittered by race antagonism and unmitigated by custom. Fray Antonio de Ascension denounced the

encomienda as "the total ruin and destruction of all the Indians," citing Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and the misery of the Cubans in support of his contention. The whole financial burden imposed by a costly colonial administration was borne ultimately by the conquered peoples. The conquerors, Spaniard, creole, and *mestizo* [2] alike, were privileged to occupy all places of emolument, to live without industry, and to exploit the despised natives. Even the negro slave looked down upon the copper-colored man and would have felt himself degraded by work in the fields or in the mines. The Indians, unaccustomed to strenuous labor, crushed under the intolerable burden, sank into the lethargy of despair.

The heroic age was past, and the conquest of the regions to the north, revealed by the explorations of Coronado, Cabrillo, and Vizcaino, was attempted by men of far inferior calibre. The later adventurers lacked the enterprise, the courage, the perseverance of Cortés and Pizarro, while they abated nothing of their cruelty and their lust for gold. Bereft of the prospect of sudden wealth, the colonies languished, and but for the proselyting zeal of the monks and friars and their determination to plant the cross at the remotest reach of the king's dominions, Spain would have had no valid title to any portion of the present territory of the United States. When Alexander VI granted to Ferdinand and Isabella jurisdiction over all the lands that might be discovered west of the Azores, he stipulated that the Indians should be converted to the true church. For the fulfilment of this obligation, the Catholic

kings were made personally responsible. It was a task sufficiently congenial to Philip II and his immediate successors. The royal treasury assumed the cost, and the three great religious orders undertook to send missionary priests to the New World. The Jesuits — Kino, Salvatierra, and Ugarte — founded the missions of Lower California. After the expulsion of the Jesuits (1767) the Dominicans succeeded to this task, while the Franciscans carried the gospel into regions hitherto unknown — New Mexico, Texas, and Upper California.

Section I

New Mexico

Great Undertakings. — Forty years after Coronado's bootless journey, an expedition to the Pueblo Indians was undertaken by a Franciscan missionary, Fray Augustin Ruiz (or Rodriguez). He and two of his brethren, accompanied by a small escort, followed the Rio Conchos to the Rio Bravo del Norte and so to the stone habitations of its upper valley. The natives seemed friendly, and their conversion to the true faith was eagerly undertaken ; but no sooner was the military guard withdrawn than Ruiz and his companions were murdered at the pueblo which they had made their headquarters, Puaray (probably identical with Tiguex). In 1582 Fray Bernardino Beltran undertook to find the lost brethren or at least to verify their martyrdom. The expedition was fitted out and commanded by Don Antonio Espejo, a wealthy Mexican then sojourning at the Santa

Barbara mines, who followed Ruiz' route to Puaray and thence made a tour of the pueblos along the Bravo and Pecos rivers. His *entrada* was far more successful than that of Coronado, though it was accomplished with but fourteen soldiers. This little band did not make so heavy requisition of corn and blankets, and their peaceful methods disarmed the suspicions of the Indians. Espejo visited seventy-four of the fortressed villages and estimated their population at 253,000.[3]

Finding the country fertile and productive and rich in mines, Espejo was ambitious to add the region, which he called New Mexico, to the dominion of Philip II. He proposed to undertake the conquest at his own cost, provided he was assured certain extensive privileges. The governorship of the new province, a title of nobility, the right to assign land grants and to make *encomiendas* of the native laborers, exemption from taxes, trade monopoly, — these were the perquisites that should reward success. Whether the king thought his demands excessive or his ability insufficient does not appear, but he failed to give the commission. It was awarded ten years later (1598) to Don Juan de Oñate, a rich mine owner of Zacatecas, who undertook to found a Spanish colony on the Rio Bravo del Norte. According to Gregg, who saw the contract in the archives at Santa Fé, "Oñate bound himself to take into New Mexico two hundred soldiers, and a sufficiency of provisions for the first year's support of the colony; with abundance of horses, black cattle, sheep, etc., as also merchandise,

agricultural utensils, tools and materials for mechanics' purposes; and all at his own cost, or rather at the ultimate expense of the colonists." [4] The king was to provide arms and ammunition for the enterprise, to salary six priests, furnish the requisite church "accoutrements," and contribute $20,000 in money. As compensation for his services, Oñate stipulated for the hereditary title of marquis, the office of governor and captain-general to rest in his family for four generations, a grant of thirty square leagues of land wherever he might choose to locate it, with control of all the Indians resident thereon, permission to parcel out native laborers among his officers and relatives, the privilege of working mines exempt from the usual royalty, etc.; privileges and powers which, with the exception of the *encomienda*, were not unlike those accorded to the English proprietors who undertook to plant colonies on the Atlantic Coast.

By the offer of lands and liberties,[5] Oñate succeeded in enlisting one hundred and thirty soldier colonists with their families. These with eighty-three wagon-loads of supplies and seven thousand cattle made up an array hardly less impressive than that of Coronado. The train turned north from the Rio Conchos across the desert to El Paso del Norte, "the ford of the river of the north" discovered by Espejo, and, ascending the Rio Bravo beyond the hostile pueblos, came to a fertile valley encompassed by snow-clad mountains. There Oñate built his town, San Juan de los Caballeros, so called because of the courtesy of the natives, some fifteen hundred

of whom were induced to assist in the construction of a dam and irrigating ditches. The friars who accompanied the expedition set about the conversion of the Indians, and they succeeded in prevailing upon thirty-four pueblos to accept Christianity. With the same uncomprehending courtesy, the Tiguas accepted the suzerainty of Philip II, and the ceremonies of administering the rite of baptism and the oath of allegiance were performed with due solemnity at town after town. There was more difficulty with Acoma, the rock fortress described by Castañeda,[6] and with the Moqui pueblos on the western plateau. Emboldened by the supposed impregnability of their stronghold, the Acomas killed a party of soldiers sent to obtain supplies. Oñate laid siege to the daring pueblo; his men succeeded in securing foothold on the summit and, after three days of desperate fighting, gained possession of the place. A wholesale slaughter followed, and the remnant of the Acomas were forbidden to return to their ancestral *peñol.*

It soon became apparent that the several factors in Oñate's company represented diverse and incompatible interests. The Franciscans' sole aim was to convert the natives, and they regarded the military escort as merely a means to this end, while Oñate's prime object was conquest of the country. Ambitious to reach Quivira on the north and that mysterious sea to the west, on whose shores, according to the natives, were mines and populous cities, he proposed to use the soldiers and supplies in farther explorations. The soldiers, on the other

hand, having been promised a chance to settle in the new province, wished to live at peace with the natives and to be left free to cultivate the land, and they held that the implements, cattle, and horses were intended to aid them in founding an agricultural colony. Among these conflicting purposes, those of the commander prevailed perforce, and he set out (1601) towards Quivira and the gold country, taking with him the pick of the soldiers and all the provisions collected by the pueblos during the six years preceding. As a consequence, the colonists were reduced to starvation long before the new planting came to harvest, and they had no choice between annihilation and retreat to San Bartolemé. Oñate was in high dudgeon when, on returning to San Juan empty-handed, he found the place abandoned. He sent a force to bring back the deserters and, having recovered the major part of his men, undertook an equally fruitless and even more costly expedition to the South Sea. Although he succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Rio Colorado (1605), the fabled cities proved to be only wattled *rancherias* of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima Indians.[7] The salt sea was there indeed, but having no ships, Oñate could make no use of it. He was obliged to fight his desperate way back across the desert to San Juan.

Meantime, the conversion of the natives, according to the friars' statistics, proceeded apace. By 1617 they had built eleven churches and baptized 14,000 Indians. In 1626 they boasted forty-three churches and 34,000 baptisms; in 1630, ninety

churches and 86,000 baptisms. To each Christian pueblo was assigned a resident priest, and there was much rivalry as to the size and splendor of their several temples. Each missionary was salaried by the crown ($330), but he expected his dusky parishioners to cultivate a corn-field for his benefit and to furnish such service as he might require in the building and maintenance of his house and the church, while fees for baptism, marriage, and burials were rigorously exacted. The Franciscans were for the most part devout, well-meaning men, but they had little comprehension of the people among whom they dwelt. They neglected to learn the native tongues, nor did they teach the Indians Spanish, preferring to rely upon interpreters, even for confession. The natives learned nothing of Christianity beyond the external ceremonies which they were taught sedulously to perform. They were thoroughgoing materialists and supposed the new religion would bring them more rain, better harvests, and exemption from disease. When these hopes were disappointed, their faith slackened. As the Franciscans came to realize the enormous difficulty of their task, the conciliatory policy of the early missionaries gave way to intolerance and persecution. Men were flogged for refusing baptism and enslaved, even put to death, for practising sorcery. From time immemorial these children of the desert had worshipped the sun, the god of life and death, and their fidelity to the requirements and exercises of their ancient religion withstood all the pressure brought to bear by the friars. Their catholicism

was merely a veneer under which the practices and superstitions of the faith of their fathers persisted with undimmed vigor.

The Indians of New Mexico were, in reality, little affected by the Spanish conquest, and they were allowed to live on in their tribal pueblos and to cultivate their lands in peace, so long as they rendered the product and labor service required of them. They were quite the most industrious people of the province, tilling their fields to corn, beans, calabashes, and cotton, and manufacturing cloth and blankets and earthenware such as the indolent whites were glad to buy. For generations they had practised irrigation as a communal enterprise, directing the flood waters of the rivers on to their fields through artificial ditches. The Spaniards introduced many desirable improvements on this simple system of husbandry. From them the natives learned to manage such domestic animals as horses and cattle, sheep and goats. They quickly surpassed their instructors in the care of sheep, feeding great flocks upon the mountain pastures, and wool soon superseded cotton and skins as wearing apparel. Iron implements such as the hoe and axe, the laborers were trained to handle, and oxen yoked to a rude wooden plough rendered the tilling of the ground a less onerous task. Wheat and tobacco were introduced and many of the European vegetables; fruit trees, too, and grape-vines were brought to New Mexico, and the natives were taught how to plant and prune them. The Pueblo Indians were sufficiently advanced in the scale of civilization to

take advantage of these gifts and to adopt many desirable additions to their means of subsistence.[8]

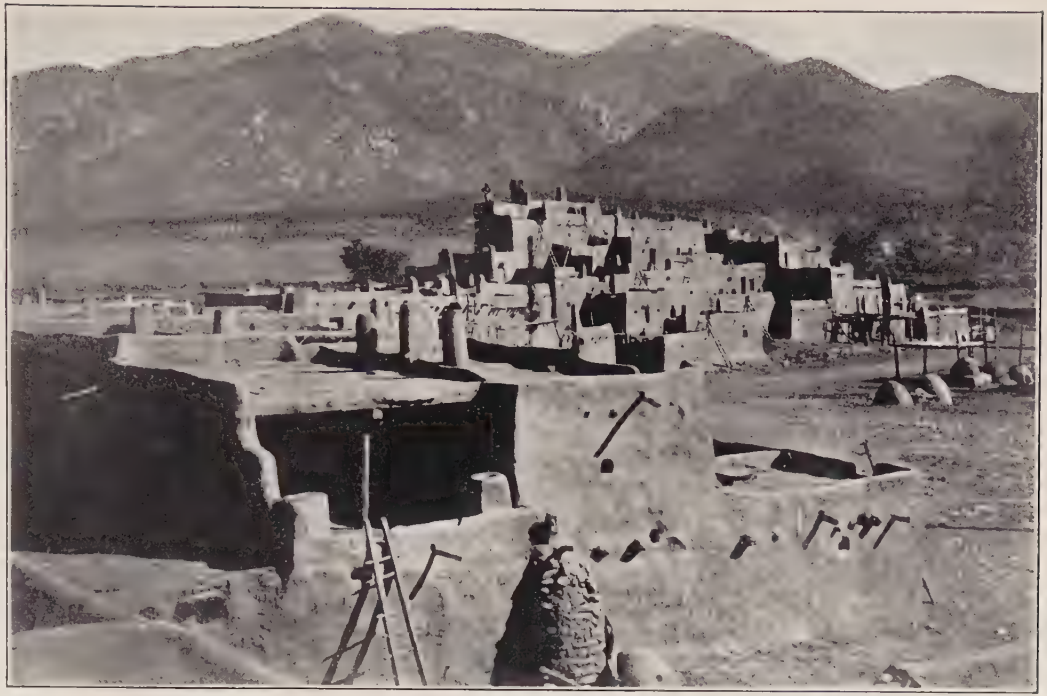
Misgovernment

It might have been possible for the natives and the settlers to live at peace but for the scant supply of water. Only the valleys of the upper Bravo and the Pecos with their tributary streams, the Chama, the San Juan, and the Puerco, were susceptible of irrigation. The new-comers thought themselves entitled to the best of everything, and, notwithstanding that the edicts of the king[9] set aside a square league of cultivated land to each pueblo, there was considerable encroachment upon these reservations. Moreover, the *encomiendas* imposed by the governor and other officials, and the tribute of corn and cloth required of each pueblo, while seeming reasonable and necessary to men accustomed to feudal conditions, struck these aborigines as an unwarranted infringement of their rights. Such exactions, coupled with the thousand individual wrongs committed by undisciplined soldiers, made up a sum total of oppression that finally drove the natives to revolt. In 1680 there were twenty-four hundred people of Spanish origin settled along the Rio Bravo del Norte in the midst of a population of twenty-two thousand Christian Indians. The garrison of two hundred and fifty soldiers at Santa Fé de San Francisco, the capital of the province, was the only armed force; no other was thought necessary.

Suddenly the seeming acquiescence of the natives was broken. The insurrection began at Taos, the

northernmost pueblo, and swiftly spread from town to town. The Indians slaughtered the whites and destroyed the churches and every vestige of Christian worship, in their determination to revenge a century of cruelty and oppression and to drive the invader from the land. The refugees crowded into Santa Fé, but the place was besieged. After five days' desperate contest, the Spaniards were forced to abandon this stronghold and to retreat down the river to El Paso del Norte. There they made a stand and built huts for a winter camp about the mission of San Lorenzo, while reënforcements and supplies were collected for the reconquest of New Mexico. Fifteen years of obstinate fighting were required to recover the lost ground. Even so, the submission of the Indians was only feigned, and they seized every opportunity to attack the weaker settlements, carry off the cattle, and murder the missionaries. The Moqui and Zuñi pueblos of the plateau to the west, being too isolated and remote for serious attack, retained their independence.

In 1693 Vargas undertook to restore the ruined settlements. A caravan of fifteen hundred people, three thousand horses and mules, and $42,000 worth of supplies was escorted up the river. Santa Fé was repopulated, seventy families were settled at Santa Cruz de la Canada (1695) and thirty at Albuquerque (1708). There was little resistance, for the long years of war had decimated the Indian population. Most of the warriors fled to the mountains rather than submit again to Spanish domination, and their women and children were captured and



Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico.

enslaved. Intertribal dissensions and repeated failure of crops completed the disaster. When Vargas resumed control of the province, only twenty of the pueblos remained inhabited. The abandoned lands were distributed among the settlers, and the dejected remnant of the native population was reduced to a sullen submission.

The wild tribes of the mountains, the Apaches and the Utes, had long been the terror of the pueblo dwellers. They now directed their marauding expeditions against the Spanish settlements. Horses and fusils were the prime object of these depredations, but the savages did not hesitate to murder men and kidnap women of the hated Spanish race. The slender garrison at Santa Fé was entirely inadequate to the defence of villages and *ranchos* scattered from Taos to El Paso, and the settlers had to protect their families and flocks as best they could. In spite of these depredations, the white population continued to increase. The number of Spaniards, creoles, and *mestizos* was estimated at four thousand in 1750; the census of 1800 enumerated eighteen thousand, not including El Paso. The Pueblo Indians, during the same fifty years, declined from twelve thousand to nine thousand. The invaders by superior strength and guile were fast superseding them. Discouragement, poverty, and the diseases consequent on contact with the white man's civilization, combined to undermine the communal organization, — a primitive body politic that had preserved these peoples through centuries of struggle against the adverse forces of nature and the craft of their savage foes.

An intelligent and disinterested observer, Fray Juan Augustin de Morfi,[10] forwarded to the viceroy (1792) an indignant protest against the practical enslavement of the Indians by the *alcaldes*, the very officials to whom the king had intrusted their protection. In spite of all legislation to the contrary, the natives were induced to run into debt and then mortgage or sell the lands on which they depended for subsistence. From each pueblo in his jurisdiction, the *alcalde mayor* was wont to require a weekly contribution of flesh, butter, *frijoles*, and *tortillas*. The labor about his house and the tilling of his fields were performed by these unhappy dependents, who were not infrequently obliged to go a day's journey to their work, carrying with them their implements of husbandry. Two hundred *fanegas* [11] of wheat and three hundred of corn were required from each pueblo every harvest, and the women were forced to grind, for the use of the *alcalde's* household, the grain that should have been stored in the pueblo granary against a dry year. Some of these officials, whose names are given by the relentless informant, were accustomed to collect a tithe of the fleeces sheared within their jurisdiction, and to distribute the wool among the native weavers, who were required to make it up into blankets. The wretched Indians were then obliged to carry the product to a place designated by their taskmaster and to render a strict account of the quantity brought in. The men were often required to serve as *arrieros* (mule-drivers) and to care for the horses and mules of the *alcalde*, and this even when their wives and children were

Hopi Pueblo, Interior of Family Dwelling.

actually suffering for lack of food. Most of the governors sent to New Mexico regarded their appointment as an opportunity for speedy enrichment. They forced the soldiers maintained at the garrisons to labor on their private estates, and while sending the viceroy false reports of successful campaigns against the Apaches, withheld the pay of the troops, sold the powder and ammunition, and pocketed the proceeds. They imposed *encomiendas* upon the pueblos for which they had no warrant, and monopolized the Indian trade; they browbeat the friars and debauched the native women without shame. Far from laboring for the advancement of the province, the governors imposed heavy burdens upon the people and set an example of lawlessness which was readily followed by the lesser officials. Each *alcalde mayor* enjoyed the monopoly of trade within his own jurisdiction. Without fear of competition, he fixed the prices at which he bought and sold, and thus made money on every transaction. Not infrequently he compelled the Indians to purchase horses and cattle for which they had no need, thus involving them in debt, and then required them to work out their obligation with the very animals in which it originated. The natives were thus reduced to a state of peonage.

No better code of laws for the government of a subject people was ever framed than that formulated by the kings of Spain for their Indian vassals. They fully understood that there was no other labor to be had for the development of the mines and plantations of New Spain, and that the aboriginal

population must therefore be conserved. The officials were directed to deal justly and kindly with the natives, to guard their rights to land and water, to observe the limitations on forced labor, and to teach them the ways of civilization. But to legislate was easy; to enforce the will of the home government upon the administrators of the law in a distant, well-nigh inaccessible province was enormously difficult. The governor and *alcaldes*, engaged in the thankless task of maintaining order on a dangerous frontier, inadequately provided with men and money, were often driven to measures of repression quite unjustifiable in a civilized land. Ill-paid and liable to peremptory recall, they were prone to take advantage of every opportunity that offered to enrich themselves at the expense of their unresisting charges. Charles III abolished the *encomiendas*, but the enslavement of the Indians did not cease.

According to de Morfi, the Spanish population of New Mexico was hardly less miserable than the natives. Living in *haciendas* (farm-houses) scattered through the country, they were unable to protect themselves or their crops against the marauding raids of the Apaches and much pilfering on the part of their white neighbors. They were more ignorant of religion than the natives, and more vicious. Too timid or too lazy to cultivate their fields, they were sunk in poverty, lacking the very necessities of life. They stored no grain against the dry years, after the excellent example of the Indians, because they never had any to spare. They were always in debt to the merchants of Chihuahua, of whom they bought

extravagantly. These leeches mortgaged the growing and even the unsown crops, sometimes as much as six years in advance. There was no coin in circulation except at El Paso. A money of account served for commercial transactions, in which the dollar had four different values — eight, six, four, or two *reals* — according to the convenience of the merchant. The unsophisticated *rancheros* were tricked into buying in a dollar four times greater than that in which they sold. By means of this shrewd artifice, they were usually on the verge of bankruptcy, so that the building of a house, a journey, a funeral, was sufficient to plunge them into ruin. They were then likely to take refuge in an Indian pueblo, ousting some native from his field and tenement, while he, in turn, found an asylum among the wild tribes of the mountains.

The remedy proposed by de Morfi for the retrograde state of New Mexico was that the government should send artisans into the province to teach the people trades. Since the *mesas* were covered with cattle and sheep, clothing sufficient for the needs of the province might easily be produced if the Pueblo arts of weaving and tanning were practised by the Spaniards. The friar suggested that intelligent but not incorrigible convicts, who understood carpentry, tile-making, weaving, dyeing, hat-making, shoe-making, etc., should be sent to New Mexico to serve out their terms as instructors in their several trades. Raw material for the apprentice shops should be furnished by the government out of the tithes levied on the province. When New Mexico was self-

sufficing and began to export manufactures as well as agricultural products, money would flow into the country, prosperity would return, and the inhabitants could free themselves from debt.

Chihuahua was the only commercial outlet for New Mexico, there being as yet no communication with Louisiana or California. The Chihuahua merchants imported their European merchandise by way of Vera Cruz; the Oriental and South American stuffs entered by way of Acapulco. The long overland carriage from these, the only licensed ports, doubled the costs and raised prices to a point at which only the wealthy could afford commodities in common use in more fortunate lands. Every autumn a caravan [12] set out from Santa Fé for the south, by way of El Paso, driving a great herd of sheep and carrying tobacco (a provincial monopoly), skins, furs, salt, Navajo blankets, and copper vessels. The return caravan brought cotton and woollen cloth, arms and ammunition, confectionery, some European wines and liquors and goods for the Indian trade. A guard of dragoons was furnished by the government, for the Apaches were wont to descend from the mountains and carry off animals and freight.

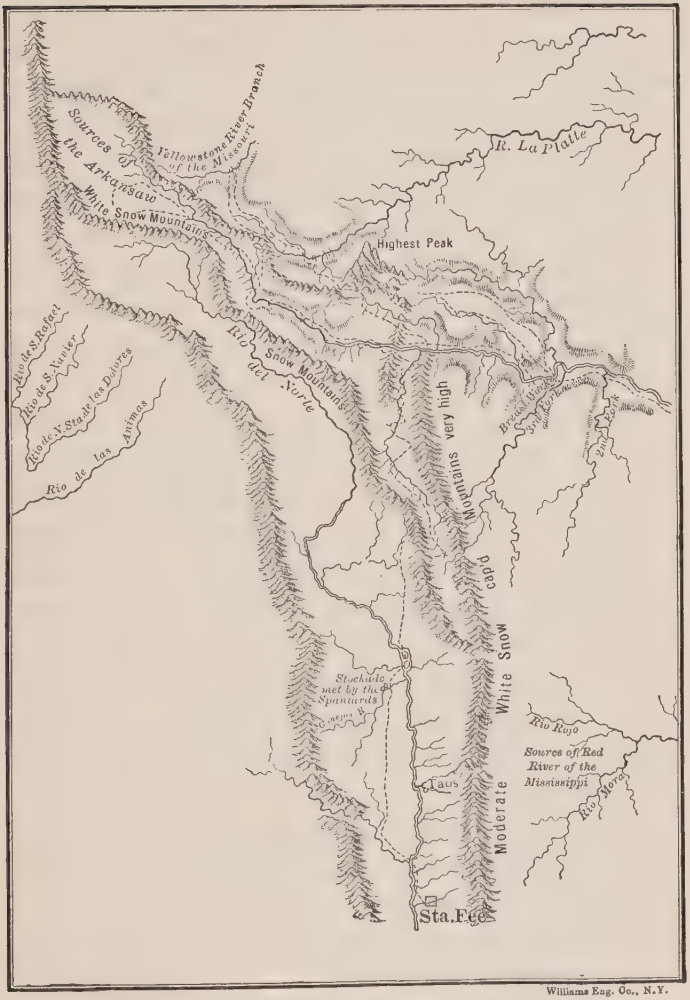
The Pike Expedition

The first definite knowledge of New Mexico, Texas, and the northern provinces of New Spain was brought to the United States by Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the young officer whose expedition to the sources of the Mississippi had commended him to the authorities at Washington. In 1806 General Wilkinson,

commander-in-chief of the United States army, commissioned Lieutenant Pike to explore the sources of the Red River with a view to defining the watershed that divided Louisiana from the United States. With a squad of twenty men — soldiers and guides — Pike set out from St. Louis on July 15 and, securing horses of the Osage Indians, rode across the open country to the Arkansas River and followed its lead to the mountains where it takes its rise. Midway of this journey, he was surprised to come upon the traces of a considerable detachment of cavalry. The Pawnees of a neighboring village, who had scarlet coats, mules, bridles, and blankets, evidently of Mexican origin, were able to throw some light on this mystery. An expedition under Lieutenant Malgares, which had been sent from Santa Fé to intercept Pike, with orders to turn him back or take his party prisoners, had passed that way *en route* for Taos. The Spanish party was well equipped, six hundred dragoons with three times as many horses, and mules and provisions for six months, made up a force such as Pike could not hope to withstand; but he determined to follow the route taken by the Spaniards, hoping that it would lead him to Red River. From Pawnee Rock on the Great Bend of the Arkansas, he rode along the river until he reached the Rockies. The plains were covered with droves of buffalo, deer, elk, and wild horses, and food was abundant; but the Americans prudently laid in a supply of jerked meat, for winter was approaching and the game animals were all moving south. His party was ill prepared for cold weather, being lightly

clad and inadequately provisioned, but Pike had no intention of turning back till he had reached his goal. Arrived at Fontain qui Bouille (the St. Charles River of Pike's Journal and the site of Pueblo, Colo.), a breastwork was thrown up as a defence against Indians, and Lieutenant Pike, with three of the men, set out to ascend the "high point of the blue mountain," the summit we now call Pike's Peak. Deceived by the clearness of the atmosphere, they thought this would be a day's excursion, and carried neither food nor blankets. When forty-eight hours' climb failed to bring them to the top, they reluctantly returned to camp.

The months of December and January were spent in a desperate search for that will-o'-the-wisp, the source of the Red River. The thermometer ranged consistently between freezing and zero, the mountain passes were deep in snow, there was no game left but a few pheasants and rabbits, the guns burst with the cold, the horses were exhausted, and the men at the limit of human endurance; but Pike would not give up his quest. At the foot of the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas (Grape Creek) he determined to build a blockhouse and leave there, in charge of two of the men, the horses and all the luggage that could be dispensed with, while the strongest of the party undertook to cross the "White Mountains" (Sangre de Cristo Range). It was a desperate venture. The snow was deep and the cold extreme; nine of the men got their feet frozen; the supply of food in their packs was soon exhausted, and game seemed to have abandoned the country. They had been four days without food



PIKE'S MOUNTAIN JOURNEY.

The source of the Red River was finally learned from the Spaniards.

"To go to Sta Fe it is best to ascend the 3rd Fork [of the Arkansas] to the Mountain, thence along the foot of said Mountain to the Pass at Taos, as was the route of the Spanish Cavalry when returning." — *Pike's Journal.*

when Pike managed to shoot a chance buffalo, and the party was saved from starvation; but he was obliged to leave three poor fellows on the trail with meat enough to keep them alive until help could be sent them. Arrived at the summit of the range, they came upon a brook that led west to a practicable pass and down into the sand-dunes of San Luis Valley, and Pike believed that he had come at last upon the long-sought boundary. He could not know that this was not the Red River, but Rio Grande del Norte, and that in crossing the Sangre de Cristo Range he was trespassing on Spanish territory. His instructions from General Wilkinson contained a warning that at the head of the river he might find himself "approximated to the settlements of New Mexico. There it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitring parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offence; because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the President to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all nations of the earth, particularly our new neighbors the Spaniards." [13]

Notwithstanding the dangers of the situation, it was necessary to make here a brief stay to recover the men, horses, and luggage left behind and to build rafts for the descent of the river. With this in view, a stockade was erected on the west bank of the Rio Grande, five miles above its junction with the Rio Conejos. The reason for choosing this site to the

west of the Rio Grande, and on any hypothesis in Spanish territory, is nowhere given. Dr. Robinson, a civilian who had accompanied the expedition in the hope of reaching Santa Fé and there transacting some private business, took advantage of this delay to make his venturesome journey. A detachment was sent back to Grape Creek after the men and horses, while Pike remained at the stockade with four soldiers, two of whom were incapacitated by frozen feet.

On February 16, while the Lieutenant was out hunting, he spied two horsemen, one an Indian, the other evidently a Spaniard. Challenged as to his errand, Pike indicated that he was preparing to descend the river to Natchitoches, and asked that the governor should send an interpreter to whom he might explain in full. Having examined the miniature fort and partaken of its frugal hospitality, the unwelcome visitors departed. Ten days later, Pike was astounded by the appearance of one hundred mounted cavalry under command of Captain Salteo. Governor Allencaster's emissary brought with him two French interpreters, and the serious nature of the situation was at once apparent. Pike then learned that the source of the Red River was eight days' journey to the southeast, and that his fort was built upon the Rio Grande del Norte. He immediately ordered his men to haul down the American flag, but this did not mollify Salteo, who insisted that Pike and his men should accompany him to Santa Fé. Arguments and protests were of no avail. A guard was left at the fort to await the

rescue party, while Pike and the ragged remnant of his force were hurried south.

Thus began that forced tour of the Mexican provinces which, according to some critics, was undertaken with treasonable intent. That the young lieutenant made good use of his eyes and ears during his sojourn on Spanish soil cannot be denied. He carefully studied the language, the customs, and the sentiments of the people, and when denied the liberty of taking notes or making sketches, he scrawled brief memoranda in his diary and concealed the bits of paper in the gun-barrels of his men. His *Observations on New Spain*, printed with the Journals, was derived in good measure from Humboldt's *New Spain*, but it contained many shrewd comments of his own upon the civilization of this jealously guarded land. The adobe towns of New Mexico, — Ojo Caliente, San Juan, etc., looked then, as now, mere "square enclosures of mud walls, the houses forming the walls." Within, the dwellings were ranged along cross streets, — low, one-story structures with narrow doors and small windows, unglazed for the most part, but occasionally filled with talc lights. At each village was a small stream, sufficient for watering the fields,[14] and there were water-mills where the natives made very good flour. Irrigation was carried so far that the waters of the Rio Grande were absorbed by the canals, and the lower river ran dry in the rainless season. Santa Fé was a town of four thousand souls, largely soldiers, priests, and officials. "Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of the flat-bottomed boats

which are seen in the spring and fall seasons, descending the Ohio River. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples form a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses." [15] The sparse population of New Mexico was nineteen-twentieths Indian. The few Spaniards were the priests — very intelligent men and much revered — and the official class.

Arrived at Santa Fé, Lieutenant Pike, much abashed by his rags and tatters but determined to put a bold face on the situation, was received by Governor Allencaster at the Palace.

Allencaster: "You come to reconnoitre our country, do you?"

Pike: "I marched to reconnoitre our own." Pike resented the suggestion that he had been the original trespasser. "Pray, sir! do you not think it was a greater infringement of our territory to send 600 miles in the Pawnees' than for me with our small party to come on the frontiers of yours with an intent to descend the Red river?" [16]

The illogical result of this colloquy was the forwarding of Pike and his fellow-conspirators to Chihuahua, there to be examined by General Salcedo. Protests and explanations had no effect upon the courteous obstinacy of the Spaniard. A deep-seated suspicion of all Americans determined the policy of the Mexican officials — a policy that was inspired at Madrid — and a citizen of the United States crossed the boundary at his peril.

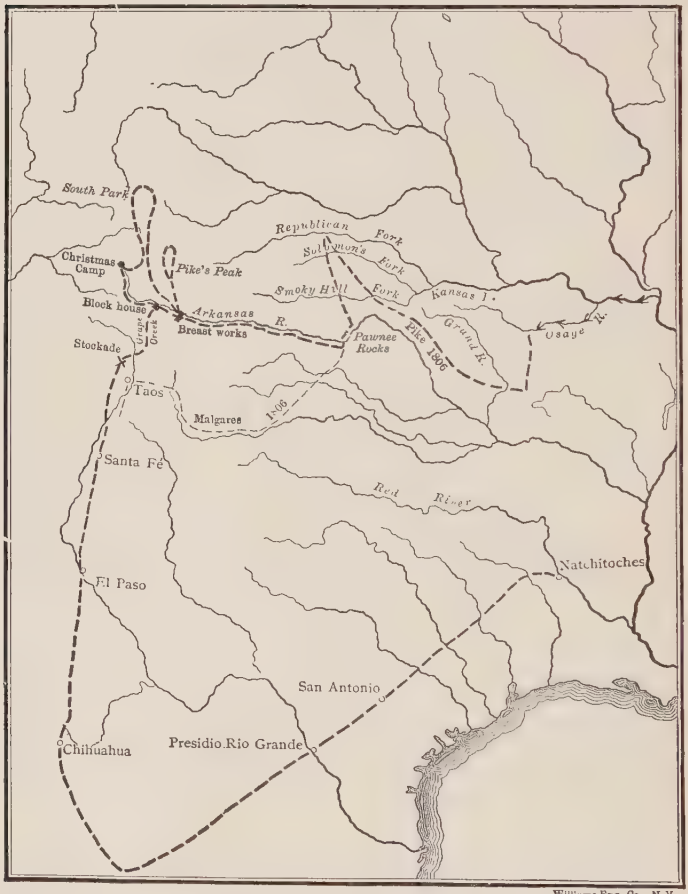
At San Fernandez, near Albuquerque, Pike's escort came up with Malgares, who was waiting to take

the prisoners to Chihuahua. Here to their joy was Robinson, hale and hearty. The intrepid doctor had not proceeded far on his quest before falling into the hands of the officials. He had consoled himself by curing several invalids, despaired of by Spanish physicians, and by making such observations on the customs of the people as might be useful in the prosecution of a trading venture. Malgares informed the captives that his expedition had occupied ten months and had cost the king of Spain $10,000, and he was evidently much gratified that chance had thrown the quarry in his way, so that he need not return to Salcedo empty-handed. This chivalrous warrior was ardently loyal to the king and "deprecated a revolution or separation of Spanish America from the mother country." Small marvel, when he lived luxuriously at the expense of the government. The Americans thought his "mode of living superior to anything seen in our army. Eight mules were loaded with camp equipage, wines, confectionery," etc. The Mexicans, forced to serve in the army without pay or to labor as bond-servants on the estates of the landowners, would, they believed, tell a different story. Pike visited a wealthy "planter" of El Paso, who owned twenty thousand sheep and one thousand cows. In Mexico proper, he found ranches where the number of cattle, sheep, and horses amounted to one hundred thousand. One such cattle king maintained a force of "1500 troops to protect his vassals and property from the savages," [17] who were fond of stampeding horses and driving them off for their own use.

El Paso was the only flourishing place Pike saw. There a bridge was thrown across the Rio del Norte to accommodate the caravans and a well-built canal conducted water from the river on to the fertile bottoms. "There is a wall bordering the canal the whole way on both sides, to protect it from the animals; and when it arrives at the village, it is distributed in such a manner that each person has his fields watered in rotation. At this place were as finely cultivated fields of wheat and other small grain as I ever saw; and numerous vineyards, from which were produced the finest wine ever drank in the country, which was celebrated through all the provinces, and was the only wine used on the table of the commanding general." [18] But the methods of cultivation were very primitive. "They are, however, a century behind us in the art of cultivation; for, notwithstanding their numerous herds of cattle and horses, I have seen them frequently breaking up whole fields with a hoe. Their oxen draw by the horns, after the French mode. Their carts are extremely awkward and clumsily made. During the whole of the time we were in New Spain, I never saw a horse in a vehicle of any description, mules being made use of in carriages, as well as for the purposes of labor." [19]

Arrived at Chihuahua, the travel-worn suspects were received by General Salcedo with the words: "You have given us and yourself a great deal of trouble." "On my part entirely unsought, and on that of the Spanish government voluntary," [20] replied Pike. His papers and journals were examined and

held for farther scrutiny, while he and Robinson were warned against indulging in conversation as to the policy of the Spanish government, the respective



Pike's Red River Expedition, 1806–1807.

merits of republics and monarchies, etc. The lieutenant laughed at these precautions, saying "there were disaffected persons sufficient to serve as guides, should an enemy ever come within the country." [21]

After due consideration, Salcedo concluded that the path of prudence was to deport the suspicious Americans, and that not through Santa Fé, but by way of Texas. Pike protested this decision, although nothing could better have served his purpose had he come to Mexico to spy out the land. Escorted by a cavalry detachment, his party rode southward round the Bolson de Mapini, and then northeast along the "Grand Road" to the Presidio Rio Grande and San Antonio.

A Neglected Province

In 1812 New Mexico with other Spanish colonies was given an opportunity to send a delegate to the Cortes of the Revolution, and Don Pedro Pino, a wealthy gentleman of Santa Fé, undertook (at his own expense) to represent the needs and latent possibilities of his province at Madrid. According to his report, the population was at that time between forty and fifty thousand, fully half and by no means the least prosperous element being the Pueblo Indians. Every pueblo had land sufficient to maintain its people, and many of the ancient industries were still pursued. The Indians ground their grain into flour and manufactured pottery and copper utensils, leather, and saddles for their own use and for sale. "Many Indians know how to read and write, and all are able to speak Spanish readily and justly with a natural but persuasive eloquence. They are slow in coming to a decision, but carry through all labor with a common accord, and in their dealings are notably honorable and truthful. . . . Rarely do

they suffer hunger, for their foresight causes them to accumulate for the future." [22] The Indian trade centered at Taos, where a midsummer fair was held. Thither the Apaches, Utes, and other mountain tribes brought deerskins, buffalo robes, furs, and slaves to barter for knives, muskets, horses, blankets, and gewgaws of European make.

The only considerable Spanish towns were Santa Fé, with a population of five thousand, Albuquerque, and Santa Cruz de la Canada. The leading products were corn, wheat, and beans — crops yielding from fifty to one hundred fold — cattle and sheep, wool, cotton, and tobacco. New Mexico had the exclusive privilege of growing tobacco; but the leaf must be sent to Old Mexico for manufacture, a regulation against which Pino protested as a senseless restriction on what should be one of the principal industries of the province.

The manufactures carried on by the whites were at their lowest ebb, hardly sufficient to supply them with the necessities of life. A few hand-wrought bits and spurs were made for the *rancheros*. Some coarse woollen and cotton stuffs, *serapes* and *ponchos*, baize cloth, serges, and friezes, neckerchiefs, cotton stockings, and table linen were the only output of the loom. A master weaver sent in by the government had taught his craft to several apprentices in a remarkably short time, and they had woven some fine cotton goods — fine at least by comparison with what had been manufactured before; but it was not easy to sell them, for there were foreign cloths to be had both cheaper and better, and a merchant buy-

ing domestic stuffs ran the risk of not being able to dispose of them. The only hope for the establishment of home manufactures was in the example set by certain foreign artisans: "Some Anglo-American artisans are to be found established here; and from them we may hope some improvement of the industries of New Mexico, since it is to be supposed that the *hijos del pais* [sons of the country] will get themselves taught these trades in the workshops of the foreigners, or at least will emulate them, seeing the excellent achievements of these men. Among these foreign artisans are tailors, carpenters, excellent gunsmiths, blacksmiths, hat makers, tinsmiths, shoemakers, *et cetera*."

In the commerce with Chihuahua, the balance of trade was hopelessly against New Mexico. The exports for 1812 were $52,000, while the imports amounted to $112,000. The effect was to denude the province of coin. Until recently many of the inhabitants had never known the use of money. The country did not lack commodities for export, — peltries, wool, and salt meat; but the overland freights to the distant ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco were prohibitive. If these articles might be shipped from Guaimas on the Gulf of California, or San Bernard (Bahia de St. Luis) on the Gulf of Mexico, the saving of nine hundred leagues of land carriage would bring down the costs to a feasible figure. Even the trade with Chihuahua was conducted at ruinous disadvantage. A good horse sold for $11 and a mule for $30, while linen cost $4 and woollen cloth $20 per yard.

The Mexican war for independence (1812–1822) found hardly an echo in this remote province. Royal Spanish officials were superseded by republican Mexican officials, and gentlemen of Spanish birth, such as the proprietor of the copper mines at Santa Rita, were sent into exile (1829); but the common people, creole, *mestizo*, and Indian alike, appreciated little change except in the more liberal commercial policy of the Mexican Cortes. All ports were now open to trade, and caravans began to come in from St. Louis, the American frontier town far across the deserts to the east. This meant the substitution of American cottons and hardware for the high-priced European goods and the still farther neglect of manufactures. Gregg, the most intelligent of the St. Louis traders, gives in his *Commerce of the Prairies* a careful résumé of the industries of New Mexico.

"The mechanical arts have scarcely risen above the condition they were found in among the aborigines. Gold and silversmiths are perhaps better skilled in their respective trades than any other class of artisans whatever, as the abundance of precious metals in former days, and the ruling passion of the people for ostentatious show, gave a very early stimulus to the exercise of this peculiar talent. Some mechanics of this class have produced such singular specimens of ingenious workmanship that, on examining them, we are almost unwilling to believe that rude art could accomplish so much. Even a bridle bit or pair of spurs it would no doubt puzzle the 'cutest' Yankee to fashion after a Mexi-

can model — such as I have seen manufactured by the commonest blacksmiths of the country." [23]

The New Mexicans were celebrated for the manufacture of blankets, coarse and fine, which they sold to the neighboring Indians, to the southern markets, and to the St. Louis traders, as well as a coarse woollen cloth, checkered black and white, called *gerga*, the only stuff worn by the peasants. Their machinery was still of the most primitive type, a whirligig spindle, the *huso* [24] or *malacate*, which was set in a bowl and twirled by one hand while the thread was drawn out with the other, and a loom so clumsy that it could be handled only by men. A fustian coat, buckskin trousers, gayly colored *serape*, and wide *sombrero* of straw or leather was the universal costume of the men, while the women wore woollen of domestic weave. There was no flax nor hemp in the province, and the growth and manufacture of cotton was a lost art.

"Wagons of Mexican manufacture are not to be found; although a small number of American-built vehicles, of those introduced by the trading caravan, have grown into use among the people. Nothing is more calculated to attract the curiosity of strangers than the unwieldy *carretas* or carts of domestic construction, the massive wheels of which are generally hewed out of a large cottonwood. This, however, being rarely of sufficient size to form the actual diameter, which is about five feet, an additional segment or felloe is pinned upon each edge, when the whole is fashioned into an irregular circle. A crude pine or cottonwood pole serves for the axle tree,

upon which is tied a rough frame of the same material for a body. In the construction of these *carretas* the use of iron is, for the most part, wholly dispensed with; in fact, nothing is more common than a cart, a plough, and even a mill, without a particle of iron or other metal about them. To this huge truck it is necessary to hitch at least three or four yokes of oxen; for even a team of six would find it difficult to draw the load of a single pair with an ordinary cart. The labor of the oxen is much increased by the Mexican mode of harnessing, which appears peculiarly odd to a Yankee. A rough pole serves for a yoke and, with the middle tied to the cart tongue, the extremities are placed across the heads of the oxen behind the horns, to which they are firmly lashed with a stout rawhide thong. Thus the head is maintained in a fixed position, and they pull, or rather push, by the force of the neck, which, of course, is kept continually strained upward.

"Rough and uncouth as these *carretas* always are, they constitute, nevertheless, the pleasure carriages of the *rancheros*, whose families are conveyed in them to the towns, whether to market or to *fiestas*, or on other joyful occasions. It is truly amusing to see these rude vehicles bouncing along upon their irregularly rounded wheels, like a limping bullock, and making the hills and valleys around vocal with the echo of their creaking and frightful sounds." [25]

Agriculture was as primitive as manufacture and the output quite as costly in labor. Pattie, a Kentucky hunter, thus describes Mexican tillage as he

saw it in 1829. "Their ploughs are a straight piece of timber, five feet long and eight inches thick, mortised for two other pieces of timber, one to be fitted to the beam, by which the oxen draw, and another to the handle, by which the man holds the plough. The point that divides the soil is of wood, and hewed sloping to such a point that a hollow piece of iron is fastened on it at the end. This is one inch thick, and three inches broad at top, and slopes also to a point. Their hoes, axes, and other tools are equally indifferent; and they are precisely in such a predicament as might be expected of a people who have no sawmills, no labor-saving machinery, and do everything by dint of hard labor, and are withal very indolent and unenterprising." [26]

The scant water supply was carried to the fields of corn in the ditches originally built by the Pueblo Indians. "One *acequia madre* [mother ditch] suffices generally to convey water for the irrigation of an entire valley, or at least for all the fields of one town or settlement. This is made and kept in repair by the public, under the supervision of the *alcaldes;* laborers being allotted to work upon it as with us upon our county roads. The size of this principal ditch is of course proportioned to the quantity of land to be watered. It is conveyed over the highest part of the valley, which, on these mountain streams, is, for the most part, next to the hills. From this, each proprietor of a farm runs a minor ditch, in like manner, over the most elevated part of his field. Where there is not a superabundance of water, which is often the case on the smaller streams, each

farmer has his day, or portion of a day, allotted to him for irrigation; and at no other time is he permitted to extract water from the *acequia madre*. Then the cultivator, after letting the water into his minor ditch, dams this, first at one point and then at another, so as to overflow a section at a time, and, with his hoe, depressing eminences and filling sinks, he causes the water to spread regularly over the surface. Though the operation would seem tedious, an expert irrigator will water in one day his five- or six-acre field, if level, and everything well arranged; yet on uneven ground he will hardly be able to get over half of that amount." [27]

The most profitable industry was sheep raising, for to sheep the dry climate and infrequent streams offered no difficulty, and pasture might be had the year round by shifting the herd from valley to mountain and back again with the change of season. "Nothing, perhaps, has been more systematically attended to in New Mexico than the raising of *sheep*. When the country was at the zenith of its prosperity, *ranchos* [ranges for cattle or sheep] were to be met with upon the borders of every stream, and in the vicinity of every mountain where water was to be had. Even upon the arid and desert plains, and many miles away from brook or pond, immense flocks were driven out to pasture, and only taken to water once in two or three days. On these occasions it is customary for the shepherds to load their burros with *guages* filled with water, and return again with their folds to the plains. The *guage* is a kind of gourd, of which there are some beautiful specimens with

Sheep on the Open Range, Arizona.

two bulbs, the intervening neck serving to retain the cord by which it is carried.

"These itinerant herds of sheep generally pass the night wherever the evening finds them, without cot or enclosure. Before nightfall the principal shepherd sallies forth in search of a suitable site for his *hato*, or temporary sheepfold; and building a fire on the most convenient spot, the sheep generally draw near it on their own accord. Should they incline to scatter, the shepherd then seizes a torch and performs a circuit or two around the entire fold, by which manœuvre, in their efforts to avoid him, the heads of the sheep are all turned inwards; and in that condition they generally remain till morning, without once attempting to stray. It is unnecessary to add that the flock is well guarded during the night by watchful and sagacious dogs against prowling wolves or other animals of prey. The well-trained shepherd's dog of this country is indeed a prodigy; two or three of them will follow a flock of sheep for a distance of several miles as orderly as a shepherd, and drive them back to the pen again at night, without any other guidance than their own extraordinary instincts.

"In former times there were extensive proprietors who had their *ranchos* scattered over half the province, in some cases amounting to from three to five hundred thousand head of sheep. The custom has usually been to farm out the ewes to the *rancheros* [ranchmen; in this case tenants apparently], who make a return of twenty per cent upon the stock in merchantable *carneros*, — a term applied

to sheep generally, and particularly to wethers fit for market.

"Sheep may be reckoned the staple production of New Mexico, and the principal article of exportation. Between ten and twenty years ago, about 200,000 head were annually driven to the southern markets; indeed, it is asserted that, during the most flourishing times, as many as 500,000 were exported in one year. This trade has constituted a profitable business to some of the *ricos* [rich men] of the country. They would buy sheep of the poor *rancheros* at from fifty to seventy-five cents per head, and sell them at from one to two hundred per cent advance in the southern markets. A large quantity of wool is of course produced, but of an inferior quality. Inconsiderable amounts have been introduced into the United States *via* Missouri, which have sometimes been sold as low as fifteen cents per pound. It is bought, however, at the New Mexican *ranchos* at a very low rate — three or four cents per pound, or (as more generally sold) per fleece, which will average, perhaps, but little over a pound. Yet, from the superiority of the pasturage and climate, New Mexico might doubtless grow the finest wool in the world. In conformity with their characteristic tardiness in improvement, however, the natives have retained their original stocks, which are wretchedly degenerate. They formerly sheared their flocks chiefly for their health, and rarely preserved the fleece, as their domestic manufactures consumed but a comparatively small quantity.

"But the *ganado menor*, or small beasts of pasture

(that is, sheep and goats in general), have of late been very much reduced in quantity; having suffered to a deplorable extent from the frequent inroads of the aboriginal 'lords of the soil,' who, every now and then, whenever hunger or caprice prompts them, attack the *ranchos*, murder the shepherds, and drive the sheep away in flocks of thousands. Indeed, the Indians have been heard to observe that they would long before this have destroyed every sheep in the country, but that they prefer leaving a few behind for breeding purposes, in order that their Mexican shepherds may raise them new supplies!" [28]

The republican administration did even less than the viceroy had done to protect the New Mexicans against their Indian foes. Apaches raided the *ranchos* for cattle, sheep, and mules, and the proprietors were driven to the towns for protection. Gregg thought the Apaches not so good warriors as the Comanches, and these in turn were less valorous than the Shawnees and Delawares, who had opposed the advance of the English in the Ohio valley, yet the Mexican troops were afraid to encounter them. In 1837 the governor of Chihuahua offered a money reward for Apache scalps: $100 for a brave, $50 for a squaw, $25 for a pappoose. The only effect of the offer was to induce scalp-hunting expeditions against the most peaceful of the Indians, thus inciting them to revenge, and the edict was recalled in a few months. Given the backward state of agriculture and manufactures and the heavy taxes imposed on trade, it will be readily surmised that there could be

no real prosperity, no rapid increase of population either by immigration or by natural growth.

Gregg estimated the population of New Mexico in 1840, including the Pueblo Indians but excluding the savage tribes, at seventy thousand souls: one thousand white *creoles*, fifty-nine thousand *mestizos*, ten thousand Pueblos. The number of naturalized foreigners was inconsiderable, perhaps twenty, and there were less than forty alien residents. On the basis of Baron Humboldt's statement that the population of New Mexico in 1803 was forty thousand, Gregg calculated that the rate of increase for forty years had barely exceeded one per cent per annum. His estimate, however, was fifteen thousand in excess of the official count for 1840, which showed the population of New Mexico to be almost stationary. Three centuries of Spanish occupation had done little for the arid land of the Pueblos.[29]

Section II

Louisiana

La Salle's Ill-fated Enterprise. — Meantime great changes had been taking place along the Espiritu Santo, the region that Castañeda had thought a waste of bogs. Both Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado had crossed the plains of Texas and reported the extraordinary fertility of the buffalo pastures; but sixteenth-century Spaniards thought no discoveries worth pursuing that did not lead to mines of gold and silver and the turquoise-encrusted gates of Quivira. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Francis-

can friars made several attempts to reach the Tehas, the semi-agricultural Indians who dwelt near the Gulf Coast, yet the Spanish government made no move in this direction till its monopoly of the Floridas was threatened by a French explorer.

Rumors of a mighty river, the Father of Waters, had reached France through the Jesuits who carried the cross to the aborigines beyond the Great Lakes. In 1639 Jean Nicollet, a French interpreter of Three Rivers, sailed into Green Bay, crossed from the Fox River to the Wisconsin, and learned from the Indians that this water flowed southward to the sea. Little by little, the learned fathers gathered information from their converts. In 1670 Father Dablon was able to state, "To the south flows the great river which they [the Sioux] call the Messi-sipi, which can have its mouth only in the Florida sea, more than four hundred leagues from here. . . . It seems to encircle all our lakes, rising in the north and running to the south, till it empties in a sea which we take to be the Red Sea [Gulf of California] or that of Florida. . . . Some Indians assure us that this river is so beautiful that more than three hundred leagues from its mouth it is larger than that which flows by Quebec, as they make it more than a league wide. They say, moreover, that all this vast extent of country is nothing but prairies without trees or woods, which obliges the inhabitants of those parts to use turf and sun-dried dung for fuel, till you come about twenty leagues from the sea. Here the forests begin to appear again. Some warriors of this country, who say they have de-

scended that far, assure us that they saw men like the French who were splitting the trees with long knives, some of whom had their house on the water; thus they explained their meaning, speaking of sawed planks and ships." [30]

In 1673 Count Frontenac, governor of New France, commissioned Louis Joliet and Père Marquette to attempt the voyage down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi and thence to salt water. In two bark canoes, with only five boatmen, they made their way past the Missouri and the Ohio rivers to the Arkansas. There the Indians told them it was but ten days' sail to the sea and the Spanish settlements. Fearing to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they turned back, being convinced that they had proved that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, "since its course was directly south, not east toward Virginia nor west toward the South Sea." Frontenac reported to the home government that Joliet "had found admirable countries, and so easy a navigation by the beautiful river which he found, that from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac you can go in barks to the Gulf of Mexico, there being but one discharge to be made at the place where Lake Erie falls into Lake Ontario." [31]

The court of Louis XIV gave little attention to these momentous findings, and the record of the daring achievement was neglected. The narrative of Père Marquette was not made public till 1681, and then by a private publisher. Frontenac had hoped that the king would take in hand the further exploration of the great river system now claimed by

France; but the project was ultimately carried out by a private gentleman, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, then in command at Fort Frontenac, who had received a royal grant of a monopoly of the trade in buffalo hides and a commission to explore the interior. He probably learned from Joliet, *en route* for Quebec, the details of that first voyage down the Mississippi, and he may even have seen the explorer's map. La Salle was doubtless familiar with the journals of Cabeza de Vaca and Castañeda, and it was he who first divined the identity of the Espiritu Santo with the Mississippi. The commercial possibilities of a navigable river that connected the Great Lakes with the Gulf impressed him as worth developing, and he determined to prosecute the fur trade in that direction. He expected to ship buffalo skins and wool to France by an all-water route, but it was necessary first to establish intervening trading posts and to provide an adequate fleet. The difficulties and delays which La Salle encountered by reason of the jealous opposition of the Jesuits and of rival fur traders, the loss of his ship, the *Griffin*, and of his post, Fort Crèvecœur on the Illinois, need not be rehearsed here. After desertions and disappointments sufficient to discourage a man of less iron resolve, his party set out (January, 1682) from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, crossed the divide by way of the Chicago, Des Plaines, and Illinois rivers, and finally launched three canoes in the Mississippi. A run of sixty-two days down the muddy tide brought them to the Delta (April 9, 1682) and the Gulf. There La Salle erected a cross,

together with the arms of France, and solemnly took possession of the mighty river in the name of Louis XIV. Three years previous, Father Hennepin, deputed by La Salle to explore the Illinois and the upper "Mescha-sipi," had been captured by the Sioux on Lake Pepin and carried to the Falls of St. Anthony and beyond. The vast valley thus revealed was named Louisiana for the Grand Monarque, who took slight interest in the noble acquisition.

Tonti, the only officer who did not abandon La Salle on this expedition, recorded in his journal an interesting estimate of the industrial possibilities of the lower country. There were bogs and cane-brakes along the banks, but back from the river was the "most beautiful country in the world."[32] In the rich bottom lands were corn-fields and smiling meadows, mulberry trees and grape-vines, and a great variety of fruits grew wild in the woodlands; magnificent pine forests offered an inexhaustible supply of naval stores, while lead deposits that would yield two parts of ore to one of refuse only waited the miner's pick. Beaver were rare, but buffalo, bear, wolves, and deer abounded. The trade in peltry alone could be made to yield 20,000 *écus* per year. When the Indians were trained to tend silkworms, that industry also would furnish a valuable article of trade.

In 1683 La Salle returned to France, seeking the means to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He succeeded in enlisting the patronage of Colbert, and Louis XIV was induced to finance the expedition as a demonstration against Spain's design in that quarter.[33] Four vessels were furnished; one

from the royal navy, *Le Joly*, commanded by Captain Beaujeu, La Salle's ship *L'Aimable*, which was provided with eight guns, a store-ship *St. François*, and a bark *La Belle*, made up the little fleet. A company of two hundred and eighty colonists was collected, — soldiers, priests, artisans, and women, these last from the purlieus of the cities. La Salle's brother, the Abbé Cavelier, and his nephews, Moranget and Cavelier, were of the party.

The enterprise was handicapped from the start by a divided command. The jealous foes of La Salle had prevailed with the king to give Beaujeu equal authority with the real leader of the expedition. Moreover, on the outward voyage, La Salle displayed the harsh and arbitrary temper which so often angered his followers and dashed their loyalty. The ceremony of baptizing the novices as they crossed the Tropic of Cancer was already dear to the hearts of old salts, both because of the merriment raised and for the sake of the penalties usually paid by the cabin passengers for exemption. This harmless pastime the commander forbade, thereby forfeiting the affection of his men. The little fleet touched at Petit Goâve in Haiti for food and water, and there many of the crew deserted, and the store-ship was captured by Spanish pirates; but La Salle laid in new supplies, and the remaining vessels proceeded along the Gulf Coast, looking for the mouth of the Mississippi. In January, 1685, they actually skirted the Delta; but the three mouths of the river giant were concealed by shoals and fog. Suspecting his mistake, La Salle would have turned back, but Beaujeu protested, and

the leader was persuaded to run on down the coast as far as Matagorda Bay. Here nothing was to be seen but sand bars and dangerous surf. Finally (February 4, 1685) Moranget and Joutel were put ashore, with a small party, and ordered to march eastward until they should come upon the river, when they were to signal the following ships. Arrived at a wide and impassable inlet, Joutel lighted a signal fire, and La Salle came ashore in the bark *La Belle* with a trusty pilot to take soundings. Having discovered a safe passage, he sent back the pilot to *L'Aimable,* to bring her into the river. But the captain refused to be directed, declaring that he knew his business. La Salle, watching anxiously from the shore, saw his ship, heavily laden with supplies, run upon a shoal. The obstinate captain immediately lowered the sails, thus destroying all chance of getting her off. Nothing but treachery could explain such disastrous tactics, and Joutel, the indignant chronicler of these events, asserts that this was done "designedly and advisedly, which was one of the blackest and most detestable actions that man could be guilty of." [34] In spite of La Salle's desperate efforts, only a fraction of the provisions was recovered. Some mischief-maker, under cover of the night, scuttled the only lighter and stove in the ship's side. By morning her hold was filled with water. Only a little flesh, meal, and grain, and thirty casks of wine and brandy were saved.

It was now of prime importance to establish friendly relations with the natives, but, unfortunately, the first encounter was hostile. Learning

that the Indians had found some blankets in the wreckage and made way with them, a small party volunteered to pursue the thieves and bring back canoes as an offset. The business was badly managed. A show of force frightened the Indians, who ran away; but, returning to the village by night and finding that the strangers had taken not only the blankets but two canoes, the wily natives tracked the party and, coming upon their camp when even the guard was asleep, sent a flight of arrows into their midst. Two of the Frenchmen were killed and two severely wounded. This spilling of blood was regarded as a bad omen, and Beaujeu, making much of the disaster, determined to return to France, taking with him the malcontents. He refused to leave behind any of the stores from his ship, even the ammunition that rightfully belonged to La Salle. *Le Joly* set sail on March 14, leaving a disheartened company on this unknown coast.

La Salle resolutely set about making the best of the situation. He had a hut built and palisaded with the wreckage of the ship, where the women and provisions might be housed in safety. Leaving Joutel in command at this post, La Salle undertook an excursion into the interior (October, 1685). Left to his own devices, Joutel displayed much common sense in providing for the comfort of the one hundred men and women in his charge. He put up a second building for the accommodation of the men, and constructed an oven that they might have wholesome baked bread. Fish and flesh were abundant, and salt was discovered in the marshes of the neigh-

borhood. Every man had to serve his turn on guard, and discipline was enforced by the ancient penalty of the wooden horse. Only Joutel and one trusted lieutenant had access to the ammunition, a precaution that frustrated at least one mutiny. The colonists would have been glad to settle here; but La Salle, who had gone up the river and found higher and less malarial ground, determined to build a fort to the eastward. There being no trees convenient to this site, Joutel was ordered to make a raft of planks from the wreck of *L'Aimable* and haul it up the river. With great difficulty a little lumber was transported to the Rivière aux Bœufs, so called from the bison that came there for water,[35] while *La Belle* carried the supplies and the women to the new encampment. Arrived at the spot, Joutel was amazed to find the post "so ill begun and so little advanced." No shelter had yet been provided except for the casks of brandy. Rain was falling, and the seed, on whose harvest La Salle was counting for food, lay rotting in the ground. Several of the men were dead, many sick of fatigue and exposure, and all were exhausted by the task of hauling timber across several miles of prairie without carts or draft animals. La Salle's harsh temper contributed not a little to the general depression. "The uneasiness M. de la Salle was under to see nothing succeed as he had imagined, and which often made him insult the men when there was little reason for it," [36] had driven his people to the verge of mutiny. Within a few weeks thirty of the men died of overwork and discouragement, among them the head carpenter.

La Salle was thus forced to be his own master builder, to go to the forest and select the trees to be felled, shape them, and fit them to their places. The fort was completed at last, and formally christened St. Louis, a name given also to the bay which it overlooked.

In April of 1686, La Salle set out in *La Belle* to explore the coast in search of the Mississippi, and again Joutel was left in command. The equipment of this expedition had well-nigh exhausted the supplies, and there were thirty-four persons to feed; but, thanks to his careful management, they fared well. The buffalo were made to furnish not only food but shelter, for the resourceful lieutenant thatched his cabins with their hides. Of these animals, the main reliance of the Indians of the plains, there seemed to be an inexhaustible supply. "There are thousands of them, but instead of hair they have a very long curled sort of wool." [37]

Meantime, La Salle was meeting with his usual ill fortune. He had not gone far when a quite uncalled-for injury to an Indian village was revenged by a night attack on the unguarded camp, and three Frenchmen were killed. Leaving Cavelier and a small party in charge of the bark and all dispensable supplies, La Salle departed for the interior with twenty picked men. After three months of aimless wandering, he returned to Fort St. Louis ragged and worn, "his fatal river" not yet discovered. He was met by disastrous news. A boat load of men, sent off from *La Belle* to fill the water barrels, had been lost through the captain's neglect to keep the lights

burning. The depleted force was not strong enough to manage the ship, and she had drifted on a shoal. Monseigneur Cavelier and his remnant had found their way back to the fort with some of the more portable goods, but the greater part was irrecoverable.

Apparently undaunted, La Salle set out almost immediately for a third excursion, taking with him another twenty men and as good an outfit as could be got together. This time he marched toward New Mexico, reconnoitring, it would seem, the limits of the Spanish dominions. He returned in August with only eight men. Four had deserted, the others were lost or killed by savages or by the alligators that infested the rivers. "All the visible advantage of that journey consisted in five horses, laden with Indian wheat, beans, and some other grain, which was put into the store." [38] Notwithstanding this calamitous failure, "the even temper of our chief made all men easy, and he found, by his great vivacity of spirit, expedients which revived the lowest ebb of hope." [39] He now proposed "to undertake a journey toward the Illinois, and to make it the main business, by the way, to find the Mississippi." [40]

La Salle's last expedition set out to northward in January, 1687. This time the faithful Joutel accompanied him, together with Monseigneur Cavelier, the two nephews, Father Anastasius Douay, Sieur Duhaut and his servant, L'Archevéque, Tessier, the pilot, Hiens, a German buccaneer, Liotot, the surgeon, La Salle's devoted Iroquois guide, his footman, and four servants. Dried buffalo meat, which they

called *foucannier* in imitation of the Indian word, some grain, and the best of the remaining ammunition and camp utensils were packed on the horses, and the little cavalcade set out toward the northeast. La Salle's objective point was the villages of the Cenis, where he hoped to secure guides. He realized at last how important were the friendly offices of the Indians and was determined to "use them kindly . . . an infallible maxim, the practice of which might have been fortunate to him had he followed it sooner." [41] The route was rendered difficult by several large rivers, alligator swamps, and heavy timber. Whenever possible, they followed the buffalo trails to avoid the necessity of cutting paths through the dense underbrush, and a canoe was constructed of long poles covered with buffalo hide to carry the men and goods across the rivers, the horses being made to swim. Notwithstanding La Salle's best devices, the march was wearisome and discouraging, and the men began to grumble. A quarrel broke out between Moranget (the younger) and Liotot over the disposition of some fresh buffalo meat. Liotot, Hiens, Duhaut, and L'Archevéque fell upon Moranget and his two companions, the Indian and the footman, and beat out their brains with axes. The murderers then determined to make way with La Salle, and free themselves, once for all, of his harsh rule. Uneasy that his nephew and the others did not come up, La Salle was returning to seek them, when Duhaut, who had secreted himself beside the trail, fired and shot him through the head. The leader fell without a groan. Hiens then

stripped the body and threw it into the bushes, some Indians who witnessed the foul deed looking on silently, "with amazement and contempt of us." [42] Joutel was for punishing the murderers, but the two priests prevailed upon him to attempt no revenge; and indeed this was the part of prudence, for they were in the minority. Joutel held his peace, but he was determined to part company with the conspirators as soon as possible, and to push on to the

JOUTEL'S RETURN JOURNEY.

Mississippi and the Illinois country. This was difficult, for Duhaut had assumed command of the party and controlled the supplies.[43]

As the wanderers approached the Cenis villages, they saw a man on horseback, dressed as a Spaniard in blue doublet, straight breeches and stockings, with a broad-brimmed, flat-crowned hat, and they feared

lest they should fall into the hands of the enemies of France and be carried off to serve in the mines or quarries of Mexico. To their relief, the rider proved to be an Indian who had got his horse and trappings from some Spanish settlement. The Frenchmen were cordially received by the Cenis, an agricultural people, who lived in wooden huts and made rude pottery and cane baskets. Three of the four men who had deserted La Salle on his third excursion were encountered here. They were well content with savage life, having married Indian wives and learned to hunt with bow and arrow. The new arrivals were offered the same privileges. Duhaut and his accomplices were minded to remain here, having forfeited a welcome at Fort St. Louis or in France; but Joutel had learned of a "great river, which was forty leagues off, towards the northeast, and that there were people like us who dwelt on the banks of it." [44] Thither he determined to go.

Six of the party held by Joutel; Father Anastasius, the two Caveliers, and three others who had not been concerned in the assassination of La Salle. They secured six horses and three Indian guides and, having induced Duhaut to spare them the essential supplies, pushed on to the north. The Cadodaquis proved very hospitable. Their chief was tricked out with a Spanish sword and wore a head-dress of hawks' bells whose tinklings gave him much pleasure. He invited the Frenchmen to a solemn ceremony, new to them, the smoking of the calumet, "a very long sort of tobacco pipe, adorned with several sorts of feathers," [45] and urged them to settle there and

marry into the tribe. Joutel, to be rid of his insistence, promised to return with commodities for trade. On the 24th of July they came to an eastward-flowing river and saw on the opposite bank a great cross with "a house built after the French fashion." Two men clothed in civilized garments came out and fired a salute. This proved to be the Poste aux Arkansas, founded by Henri de Tonti, the devoted friend of La Salle, who had come thus far with his relief expedition.

Joutel and the faithful remnant made their way by canoe up the Mississippi and the Illinois and so by the Great Lakes to Montreal and to France, carrying the news of the disastrous outcome of the great colonial enterprise. Tonti undertook to rescue the survivors at Fort St. Louis, but upon reaching St. Louis Bay he could find no trace of the colony. Returning by the Mississippi, he voyaged up the Arkansas as far as his boats would carry him and then marched across the country to the Indian village of Natchitoches on Red River. Ascending this stream to the Cadodaquis, he secured horses and again rode south to within three days' journey of the spot where his chief had been murdered. There his men refused to go farther, and he was forced to abandon the search.

Such was the pitiful end of a great project. The causes of La Salle's failure are wisely summed up by his loyal lieutenant, Joutel. "Such was the unfortunate end of M. de La Salle's life, at a time when he might entertain the greatest hopes, as the reward of his labors. He had a capacity and talent

to make his enterprise successful; his constancy and courage, and his extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for anything, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertakings, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness towards those that were under his command, which at last drew on him implacable hatred and was the occasion of his death." [46]

Louisiana under France and Spain

La Salle's dream of a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi and a commerce that should connect the Great Lakes with the Gulf was shared by Iberville, the military genius who, having demonstrated his ability in combating the projects of Great Britain on the New England coast, in the Mohawk Valley, and on Hudson's Bay, was despatched to Louisiana to defeat the encroachments of Spain. He and his brother, Bienville, arrived on the Gulf Coast with a colonizing outfit just ten years after the death of La Salle and, landing to the east of the Delta, founded Fort Biloxi on a sandy beach backed by virgin forest. In 1701 the post was transferred to a point still nearer Pensacola, Mobile, where a deep bay and navigable rivers gave harborage for vessels; but the settlement at Biloxi was maintained. The hardships of the initial years and the hot and humid climate proved disastrous to the pioneers. Twenty-

five hundred colonists were sent over between 1699 and 1712, but only four hundred were living in the latter year. The monopoly of the trade of Louisiana was then granted to Anthony Crozat, on condition of establishing a colony.

During the five years of his monopoly, Crozat expended 425,000 livres on this venture and realized a revenue of but 300,000 livres. When he surrendered the concession in 1717, there were only seven hundred Frenchmen and four hundred cattle in Louisiana. In spite of these failures, the Regent was unwilling to abandon the claim to the Mississippi River and the vast valley which it drained; the opportunity for colonial expansion was made over to the Company of the West, and Louisiana became the physical basis for the ambitious financial scheme to which John Law had converted the French court and people. The projectors secured the monopoly of trade, mines, and furs on condition that they import six thousand white colonists and three thousand negro slaves. Land was offered to voluntary emigrants, together with free transportation and sustenance until they should reach their final destination; but it was not easy to induce men who could earn a living at home to take their chances in the wilderness, and the Company was obliged to impress colonists from the jails and almshouses and the vicious resorts of Paris. Eight hundred people were brought over in three ship-loads (1718) and distributed among the several posts, — Biloxi, Mobile, St. Louis Bay, Natchitoches, Fort Rosalie de Natchez, and the Yazoo. Bienville was made governor, and he cleared ground for a cen-

FRENCH LOUISIANA IN 1718.

tral settlement on the neck of land between the Mississippi and Lake Ponchartrain, which, in honor of the Regent, he named New Orleans (1721).

Le Page du Pratz, a gentleman adventurer who came over on the first ship with servants and implements, gives us a detailed account of the colony. His estate was at Natchez, where he found the soil very fertile and the climate salubrious; but so long as his nearest and largest market was Biloxi, there was no profit in agriculture. New Orleans promised better things commercially because the river front was deep enough for sea-going vessels, whereas lighters were

necessary at Biloxi; but the ground plotted out for the town lay so low that it was inundated by the spring floods, and the river was at that season so filled with drifting timber that vessels were forced to put out into the Gulf for safety. Bienville had caused a mole three feet high and wide enough for a carriage road to be built along the water front for a distance of fifteen or sixteen leagues on both sides the river, and this served to protect not only the dwellings but the agricultural lands.

After eight years spent at Natchez, Du Pratz removed to New Orleans and was induced to take charge of the royal plantations in that vicinity. The results of this experience are embodied in some very interesting notes on methods of cultivating the most successful crops — maize, rice, watermelons, tobacco, indigo, cotton. A really serious handicap on the last-named product was the difficulty of separating the seed from the fibre, but Du Pratz invented a mill which performed this operation much more quickly than it could be done by hand. A woman from Provence, Mme. Hubert, was experimenting with silkworms, and she had succeeded in raising worms on the leaves of the red and the white mulberry that spun a silk finer and stronger than that of Lyons. Du Pratz believed that young negroes could be taught to tend the cocoons and that a profitable silk industry might be established in this warm and equable climate. He anticipated, moreover, that a flourishing trade would develop with the West Indies and ultimately with Europe. Lumber, bricks and tile, maize, beans, peas, and rice were already

being shipped to the Islands, and the return cargoes of sugar, coffee, rum, and slaves were eagerly bought by the well-to-do among the Louisianians. (Du Pratz paid £55 for a negro and his wife.) Furs, deerskins, buffalo hides, and tallow were coming down from the upper river; lumber, pitch, and tar were being sent in from the near-by forests; hemp and sugar could be grown in the Delta; and there was no reason why the colony should not build its own trading vessels. "If the English build ships in their colonies . . . why might not we do the same in Louisiana?" "France has found in her lands neither the gold nor silver of Mexico and Peru, nor the precious stones and rich stuffs of the East Indies, but she will find therein, when she pleases, mines of iron, lead, and copper. She is there possessed of a fertile soil, which only requires to be occupied in order to produce, not only all the fruits necessary and agreeable to life, but also all the subjects [materials] on which human industry may exercise itself in order to supply our wants." [47]

There was no lack of energy on the part of the men who undertook to bring to light the latent resources of this rich possession. In 1718 an expedition was despatched to the Illinois Country to develop the lead deposits described by Tonti. Philip Renault and La Motte, a mineral expert, prospected the region from the Kaskaskia on the east of the Mississippi to the St. Francis River on the west so thoroughly that their numerous excavations are still visible. They opened the rich mine at the source of the St. Francis, still called La Motte, also Fourche

à Renault on Big River and, with the aid of two hundred artificers and miners sent from France and five hundred slaves picked up at San Domingo, they raised and smelted a considerable quantity of first-grade metal. For twenty-five years pirogues loaded with lead were sent down to New Orleans; then the project was abandoned for lack of support, and Renault returned to France. In 1725 Bourgmont explored the Missouri as far as the Kansas, and proved that a great trade in furs might be developed with the Osages and Paducahs. In 1740 a party of traders from New Orleans followed the Arkansas to the mountains, established a trading post there (near Pueblo), and opened commercial relations with the Indians of Taos and the Spaniards of Santa Fé. These operations being reported to the Spanish authorities, the Frenchmen were seized and thrown into prison. The case was referred to Havana, and the superior court decided that, since the post was on the eastern slope of the mountains, it lay within the Province of Louisiana. The traders were promptly released and their goods restored.

Meantime the industrial experiments on the lower river were going badly. The idle and degenerate riffraff imported as colonists could not or would not work, not even food enough for sustenance would they grow, and famine and disease decimated the settlements. One hundred years before, England had proven the futility of attempting to build a commonwealth out of the "scum of the people"; but the Company of the West was bent on profits,

and the places of the dead were filled by more cheap labor, — beggars, criminals, and slaves. In the first six years of its administration, four thousand and forty-four French men and women were transported to Louisiana and fourteen hundred and forty-one Africans. The only successful farmers were some Alsatians forwarded by the canny Law to his own estates at Arkansas Post, but who later removed to the Bayou St. John (Côte des Allemands). The Canadians who came down from the St. Lawrence showed greater capacity for coping with the vicissitudes of frontier life and made excellent hunters; but the "Mississippi Scheme" was doomed from the start. The Company's feudal requisitions, their trade monopoly, and the worthless paper currency sent from France were burdens too heavy for an infant colony. When the speculative bubble burst and there was no more revenue to be had, the fictitious prosperity collapsed. The discredited company surrendered its charter (1731) and Louisiana reverted to the crown.

Bienville was continued as governor until 1743, and under his wise and efficient management, the province began to prosper. The plantations about New Orleans bore abundant crops of cotton, rice, and tobacco; salt was manufactured on Red River; naval stores came down the Mississippi in huge rafts. When Vaudreuil succeeded Bienville he found a population of thirty-two hundred whites and two thousand and thirty blacks — slaves from Cuba and San Domingo — and there seemed reason to believe that France might yet reap some profit from

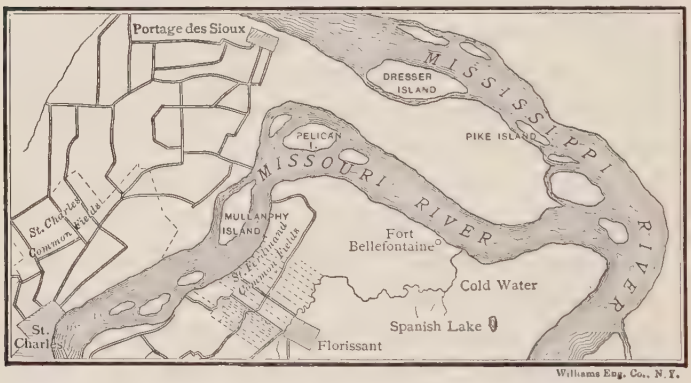
Louisiana. Hoping to extend the agricultural area, Vaudreuil offered tracts of the alluvial land on the river and adjacent bayous, free of charge, stipulating only that some portion be cleared and a house built within a year and a day, and that such proprietors as held land on the river should maintain a levee and a public road along its summit and erect the necessary bridges.

When Louisiana and the Floridas were ceded to Spain (1762), the administration of the province was but little changed. Spanish officials took the place of the French, and the seat of authority and source of supplies was transferred to the City of Mexico. Land grants were given out by the Spanish governors with a more lavish hand and with less regard to the development of the country. The terms of the grants were not rigidly enforced, and the public was obliged to make good the defects in roads and levees caused by the neglect of the local proprietors. Governor O'Reilly offered to each newly arrived family settling on the river a tract of land extending from six to twelve *arpents* along the water front and forty *arpents* deep, with indefinite rights to feed cattle in the cane-brakes and cut fuel in the cypress forests beyond. Grants were conditioned on the building of levees, roads, and bridges, and the clearing of at least three *arpents* deep along the water front. If these terms were not met within three years, the land reverted to the crown. Carondelet (1795) enjoined upon the syndics that they should make a survey of the levees twice a year and require the proprietors to repair the damages wrought by floods and craw-

fish. If the individual planter was unequal to the work, an impressment of the negroes of the adjoining plantations was authorized, the negroes working on Sunday, their one holiday, for four *escalins* (thirty-six cents) per day. This public-spirited administrator built the canal that connected New Orleans with Lake Ponchartrain and drained the streets of the city. He provided for the lighting of the streets and arranged a force of watchmen. The cultivation of sugar, which had been abandoned since 1766, was revived by Etienne de Boré, a neighboring planter, who succeeded in granulating the molasses and producing a marketable grade.

Emigration from France ceased with the change of flag, and none but officials came from Spain, so that the population of the province was fairly stationary. The settlements made in Upper Louisiana during the Spanish régime were due to French enterprise. Maxent, Laclede & *Cie.*, merchants of New Orleans, had already secured from the French intendant the trade monopoly of the Missouri and of the upper Mississippi as far as the St. Peters, and Laclede selected as the best site for a trading post the bluff that overhangs the Mississippi just below the debouchure of the Missouri. Here a palisaded fort was erected, Auguste Chouteau, then a lad of thirteen, overseeing its construction. Laclede named his post St. Louis and thought it destined to become "one of the finest cities in America." When the Spanish governor arrived (1770), he found a town of one hundred wooden and fifteen stone houses, but the men that gathered at the post were *voyageurs*,

engageés, and *coureurs de bois*, who spent their days in trapping and trading and had no liking for the cultivation of the soil. To provide sustenance for this force, Laclede had recourse to the *habitants* of Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. Outraged by the cession of the Illinois Country to Great Britain (1763), several hundred of these loyal Frenchmen responded to Laclede's invitation and, to be free of



FRENCH VILLAGES WITH THEIR COMMON FIELDS.

the jurisdiction of "King George's men," crossed the Mississippi with their families and their cattle. They found good farming land on the bottoms at the mouth of the Missouri, and there in a series of agricultural villages — Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Ferdinand or Florissant — soon reproduced the peace and plenty of the abandoned possessions.

The French villages were little communes, for the inhabitants continued the customs they had known on the Wabash, — on the St. Lawrence, — in old France. Each householder had his bit of garden about his cabin on the one street of the village, his allotment

in the plough field, his right to pasture cattle and hogs in the unfenced land and to gather wood in the forest back of the clearing. At Ste. Genevieve on the Mississippi, the bottom for five miles along the river was common field ; at Carondelet, the individual allotments, while narrow, were more than a mile and a half in length.[48] They were a simple, unprogressive people, caring far more for music and dancing and out-of-door pleasures than for industry and the making of money. The common fields remained undivided and were handed down from generation to generation, and while there was no wealth there was little poverty among them. Loyal to church and established authorities, with few schools and no manufactures, the French settlers pursued a placid and unenterprising existence under Spanish rule. Crime was rare among them, jails were unnecessary, and courts and lawyers had small employ. St. Louis was dubbed *Pain Court* by the corn-growing inhabitants, but the traders retorted by nicknaming the agricultural villages *Vide Poche* and *La Misère* and *Petite Côtes*. At St. André, farther up the Missouri, some thirty families from Kentucky had established themselves and were farming the land in a fashion so superior to that of the *habitants* as to attract the commendation of the governor-general. On the upper Mississippi, opposite Prairie du Chien, an enterprising Frenchman, Julien Dubuque, had secured license (1788) to work the lead mines he had discovered in that district.[49]

Laclede's trading post soon became the entrepôt for river traffic and in 1800 boasted nearly one

thousand inhabitants, largely Canadians from Montreal and Michillimackinac. The confluence of the Missouri and the Illinois with the Mississippi gave the post increasing importance as the centre of the fur trade, and brought it into direct relation with New Orleans. Keel boats and barges laden with furs, buffalo robes, meat, and tallow were despatched to "the city," as the seaport was known in St. Louis parlance, and though the voyage of one thousand miles down-stream was quickly made, it was not without its dangers. The risk of capture by river pirates [50] was so great that in 1788 the governor ordered that no boat undertake the trip alone. Thereupon a fleet of ten keel boats was assembled by the merchants, the robbers' lair was attacked and destroyed, and the organized piracy came to an end.[51] A more persistent danger was the risk of shipwreck on the sand bars, shoals, and floating driftwood with which the Father of Floods was beset. Trees dislodged by the spring freshets floated down river and, becoming imbedded in the muddy bottom, lay in wait for the unwary navigator. Many a *bateau* and pirogue was capsized on a log or snag that rested just beneath the water, or rose and fell with the pressure of the current.

The forty years of Spanish occupation meant little for the development of Louisiana. Pursuing the traditional policy of Spanish colonial officials, the governor-general at New Orleans confined his attention to multiplying the perquisites of his post, and his example was followed by every man in authority. Bradbury, the English naturalist who

made a voyage down the Mississippi to New Orleans in 1810, writes as follows of the hindrances imposed on industry: "The most depressing regulations were made to shackle the internal trade of the country; no man could sell the smallest article, not even a row of pins, without a license, and those licenses were sold at the most extravagant rates. A stranger coming into the province, and offering goods at a fair price, was certain to be sent to prison and to have his goods confiscated. All favors from these governors, all grants of land, or even common privileges, could only be obtained by bribery. . . . Under so detestable a system of government the energies of man must forever remain dormant, and the most fertile regions eternally unproductive to the world." [52]

The effect of the tolls and tariffs imposed on American goods seeking a market at New Orleans is a matter of general history. The throttling of their commerce at its natural and most feasible outlet drove the exasperated settlers along the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee to the point of revolt. The Federal government was importuned to negotiate a treaty with Spain that should secure to American citizens free navigation of the Mississippi and rights of deposit at New Orleans. After prolonged and vexatious parleyings, these privileges were conceded (1795), but only for a term of three years. They were withdrawn in 1798, and the pioneer farmers of Kentucky and Tennessee, again threatened with ruin, addressed urgent memorials to Congress. The danger was even greater than

they knew, for in this same year Napoleon was pushing to a successful conclusion his negotiations for the restoration of Louisiana to France. The transfer of New Orleans from the corrupt but unenterprising Spaniards to a ruler so ambitious and unscrupulous, was regarded with serious apprehension by the United States government. When rumors of the treaty of San Ildefonso reached Jefferson, he characterized the change of ownership as "inauspicious" and "ominous to us." In January, 1803, James Monroe was sent to France as minister plenipotentiary to assist Livingston in securing and enlarging our rights and interests "in the river Mississippi and in the territories eastward thereof." They were empowered to buy New Orleans and the Floridas for the sum of $2,000,000. After some haggling over terms, a convention was drawn up (April 30), and the Province of Louisiana was ceded to the United States in return for a cash payment of $15,000,000. The transfer of Lower Louisiana was formally made at New Orleans in December, but that of Upper Louisiana and the settlements in the neighborhood of St. Louis was delayed until March, 1804.

The extent of this extraordinary acquisition was then unknown. To the north lay the dominion of Great Britain, as yet undefined. To the west, a range of mountains, uncharted and unexplored, was believed to delimit the French province. The boundary between Louisiana and Texas was held by Spain to be the Red River, but the Americans of the Mississippi Valley were eager to extend their claim to the Sabine, to the Colorado, to the Rio Grande.

Section III

Texas

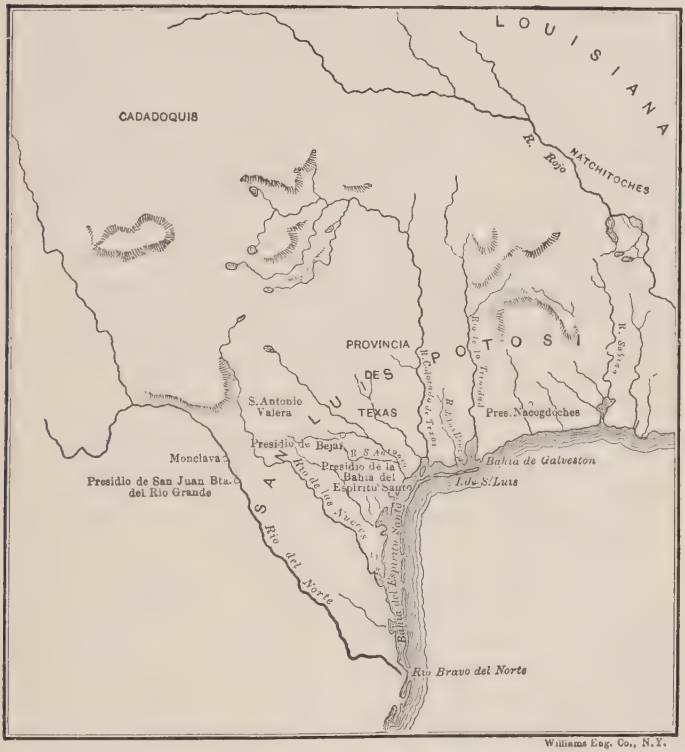
Possession contested by France and Spain. — When news of La Salle's expedition was brought to Mexico by the captors of the supply ship, *St. François*, it became evident that some measures must be taken to hold the land of the Tejas, if Spanish control of the Gulf of Mexico was to be maintained. Two vessels were despatched, therefore, to search the coast for La Salle's colony (1686–1687). The wreckage of *La Belle* and *L'Aimable* was found in St. Louis Bay, but nothing more. The overland party had the good fortune (1689) to discover the ruins of the fort and captured two of La Salle's murderers. The rest of the ill-fated colonists had succumbed to privation and disease. In 1690 the missionary occupation of the country was attempted. Three Franciscans with an escort of one hundred soldiers reached the Trinidad River and were received with delight by the natives. There the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas was built, a mere log church with barracks for the *padres*. Soon horses and cattle were sent in, and a beginning of tillage was made. The Tejas were a semi-agricultural people accustomed to the cultivation of corn, beans, melons, and tobacco, yet they declined to live in houses and, discouraged by the first failure of crops, began to steal the cattle and escape into the wilderness. Eight more missions had been projected, and that of Santa Maria was actually started among the Cenis; but the perverse

character of the savages disheartened the friars, and in 1694 the enterprise was abandoned.

The grant of Louis XIV to Anthony Crozat conveying the monopoly of the trade of Louisiana indicated the Rio Grande as the natural boundary between the French and Spanish dominions. Crozat hoped to discover mines in this region and to open up a profitable exchange of products between Mobile and the Spanish settlements, San Juan Bautista and Monclova. Louis Juchereau de St. Denis was sent on a trial trip in 1714. With five canoes laden with goods he went up the Mississippi and Red rivers and, having established a trading post at Natchitoches, made his way overland as far as San Juan. He succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the *commandante*, and thus set on foot the contraband trade with Mexico that persisted for a century to come.

St. Denis' bold venture convinced the Spanish government of the necessity of taking possession of the land of the Tejas. The viceroy got together seven or eight families who were willing to risk their fortunes in this enterprise, together with some fifty soldiers and twelve friars, and put them in charge of Captain Domingo Ramon (1716). A train of pack mules and oxen with one thousand goats completed the equipment. There were no difficulties *en route*. Pursuing an easterly course through luxuriant woods and pastures, they found abundant game, — buffalo, wild turkeys, and fish. The Tejas were in friendly mood and smoked the calumet with the Spanish officers, and they allowed the friars to rebuild

the mission of St. Francisco de los Neches (Nacogdoches) and that of Purissima Conception for the Cenis villages. Seven missions in all were founded



TEXAS IN 1804.

between the Trinidad and Red rivers, and one, San Antonio de Valero, on the San Antonio River. The adjacent *presidio* [53] of San Antonio de Bejar gave to this position a special importance.

This brave beginning was brought to an untimely end by the outbreak of war between France and Spain (1719). A troop of French and Indians from

Natchitoches swept into the country, destroying the missions east of the Trinidad and the colonists were forced to take refuge at San Antonio.

Two years later, peace being declared, colonization was again undertaken. The sum of $250,000 was appropriated to the purpose, and the Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo reëntered the land of the Tejas with five hundred soldiers, thirty families, and a great herd of horses, cattle, and sheep. Additional supplies were brought by ship to Espiritu Santo (St. Louis Bay), where a fort, Bahia, was erected. The missions beyond the Trinidad were reëstablished, and a *presidio*, Pilar near Adaes, built and garrisoned to overawe Natchitoches. The *presidio* at San Antonio de Bejar was rebuilt in adobe, and a Spanish *pueblo*, San Fernando, was projected in the immediate vicinity. It was ordered (1722) that four hundred families should be brought over from the Canary Islands at the expense of the crown, while every ship clearing from Havana (1729) was to bring in twelve Cuban families. Land and full citizenship was promised, and the colonists were assured of maintenance for the initial year. In conformity with trade regulations, the immigrants were carried, not to the neighboring harbor of Espiritu Santo, but to Vera Cruz, whence they were obliged to march overland by way of the City of Mexico to their destination. Thus some thirty families were with great effort transported to San Antonio to form the Villa de San Fernando. But the immigrants proved less industrious than the natives, for they refused to till the soil, preferring to live by hunting and fish-

ing. A similar colony, San Augustin, with a *presidio* attached, was planted on the Trinidad in 1755 with fifty families; but they, too, found it easier to live without work, and neither settlement prospered. The officials were made of no better stuff than the settlers and neglected their most evident duties; the very governor used his authority to impress the labor of the mission Indians for his own benefit and to the impoverishment of the friars.

The missionaries sent to the Tejas and the Cenis were zealous and disinterested men, and their methods were unusually wise. The native dialects were used in the instruction of the new converts, but the Indians residing at the mission were taught Spanish. The soil was cultivated in common under the supervision of the friars, and a garden lot was assigned to every man who proved diligent and capable. The government of the mission community was vested in an *alcalde* elected by the people and approved by the governor. The natives were taught agriculture, carpentering, bricklaying, blacksmithing, weaving, and other trades, in order that the needs of the mission might be supplied, and they were well fed and clothed with the double object of keeping them contented and attracting others from the savage state to this opportunity for Christian education. Adobe houses were built for their use and furnished with such domestic utensils as the people could be induced to employ. Water collected in small reservoirs was distributed over the fields by means of irrigating ditches, and corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons were grown in abundance. Sugar made

from cane raised at the several missions proved especially gratifying to the sweet-toothed children of the land, and horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats multiplied beyond experience, requiring only the care of a mounted cowherd.

The labor expected of the people was not thought onerous by the Spaniards. Husbandmen planted the fields, watered the crops, cleared away the weeds, and gathered in the grain. The carpenters and masons put up the adobe huts, the granaries, and the friars' dwellings. The women and children carded the cotton and spun it on *malacates*, the primitive Indian spindles, and the men who had learned the art wove this into cloth. The natives worked so slowly and carelessly, however, that it was necessary to have a Spanish overseer constantly on hand, and even so, four native laborers were not equal to one European. Each mission raised corn and beans sufficient for its own needs,[54] while the increase of cattle served for outside traffic. The friars might have developed a considerable commerce had not the settlers protested against their selling in the same market. However, cattle were sold as opportunity offered, and the secured bills received in exchange were forwarded to the superior at the City of Mexico, who laid out the proceeds in supplies for the mission, — cloth, hats, tobacco, needles, knives, pots, *metates*,[55] hatchets, crowbars, saddles, and bridles. Chocolate for the special delectation of the friars, and drugs for the restoration of the sick, together with the ornaments and sacred images and other appurtenances of the church, were furnished at cost of the royal treasury.

The Franciscan establishment in Texas never accumulated wealth, and the beautiful churches of San Antonio, San José, and Purissima Conception were built with funds subscribed by the faithful in New and Old Spain. The missions suffered very much from the raids of Comanches and Apaches and scarcely less from the depredations of the settlers and officials. The soldiers sent to guard the missions were usually their worst foes, slaughtering the cattle and debauching the neophytes without conscience, while the Indians lost their tribal virtues and became drunken, vicious, and syphilitic. In the hundred years of missionary effort the total number baptized was less than ten thousand, and there were never more than two thousand *reducidos* [56] resident at any time in the dozen odd establishments. There were two thousand mission Indians in 1732, four hundred and fifty in 1785, and no more in 1793. The secularization of the missions was decreed in 1794, the royal support was withdrawn, secular clergy were placed in charge of the churches, and the cultivated lands distributed among the converts. When Pike passed through San Antonio (1806), he visited the three missions in its immediate neighborhood and noted that while their prosperity was a thing of the past, the church buildings "for solidity, accommodation, and even majesty were surpassed by few that I saw in New Spain." He asked the resident priest at San Antonio de Valero what had become of the natives. "He replied that it appeared to him that they could not exist under the shadow of the whites, as the nations who formed

those missions had been nurtured, taken all the care of that it was possible, and put on the same footing as the Spaniards; yet, notwithstanding, they had dwindled away until the other two missions had become entirely depopulated, and the one where he resided had not then more than sufficient to perform his household labor."

When Louisiana was ceded to Spain, Natchitoches ceased to be a menace; but the withdrawal of the northern garrisons (Pilar, Augustin, San Luis, 1777) worked harm to colonists and missions alike. The Comanches of the plains, waging war against their hereditary foes, the Lipan Apaches, were incited by the latter to turn their arms against the Spaniards. The settlements were attacked, priests and civilians killed, and cattle driven off, in spite of the punitive expeditions organized by the *commandante* at San Antonio. The pusillanimity of the troops only served to incite farther raids, and the settlers in despair abandoned all cultivation. The village of San Fernando was in a wretched state. There were only one hundred and forty houses in the town, more than half of them mere wooden shacks. The descendants of the Canary Island immigrants, both civilians and officials, were lazy and vicious. They would do no work, but impressed the labor of the mission Indians and stole the mission cattle for slaughter and for sale. De Morfi, who visited Texas in 1778, says of San Fernando: "This villa cost the king more than 80,000 *pesos* and to-day, if sold, would not bring in 80 *pesos*." [37] According to de Morfi's estimate, the total white population of Texas

Mission of San José, Texas.

did not amount to three thousand souls (2600). The settlements at Nacogdoches and Bahia numbered three hundred each, that at San Antonio, one thousand. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the civilized population of this vast territory —Spanish and French creoles, mission Indians, and half-breeds[58] — was but seven thousand, or one to each square league. The town at San Antonio reckoned two thousand people, Bahia (Goliad), fourteen hundred, Nacogdoches, five hundred. The remaining three thousand were gathered about the smaller missions and *presidios*, while a few great landowners dwelt in feudal isolation on their *ranchos*, or cattle ranges.

The *rancheros* were a reckless, improvident race whose wealth consisted in cattle and horses. They spent the better part of their lives in the saddle, and their devotion to the buffalo hunt was a ruinous passion. Governor Cordero (1806) undertook to restrict the sport to certain seasons and required each man of family to plant a stated acreage to corn, but this legislation had little effect. It was far easier to trade horses and cattle for what was needed, since these were to be had for the taking. Pike describes the process of corralling wild horses. "The method pursued by the Spanish in taking them is as follows: they take a few fleet horses and proceed into the country where the wild horses are numerous. They then build a large strong enclosure, with a door which enters a smaller enclosure; from the entrance of the large pen they project wings out into the prairie a great distance, and then set up

bushes, etc., to induce the horses, when pursued, to enter into these wings. After these preparations are made, they keep a lookout for a small drove, for, if they unfortunately should start too large a one, they either burst open the pen or fill it up with dead bodies, and the others run over them and escape; in which case the party are obliged to leave the place, as the stench arising from the putrid carcasses would be insupportable; and, in addition to this, the pen would not receive others. Should they, however, succeed in driving in a few, say two or three hundred, they select the handsomest and youngest, noose them, take them into the small enclosure, and then turn out the remainder; after which, by starving, preventing them taking any repose, and continually keeping them in motion, they make them gentle by degrees, and finally break them to submit to the saddle and bridle. For this business I presume there is no nation in the world superior to the Spaniards of Texas." [59]

The prairies teemed with horses and cattle, the progeny of the early importations, which fattened on the succulent pasture, untended and unclaimed. Great numbers were driven off by the nomad Indians and bartered to the tribes of the far north, and thousands were captured, broken, and driven to Natchitoches for sale. An edict of 1778 reserved unbranded cattle to the crown, and imposed a tax of four *reals* for each animal killed; but this measure, which should have produced a revenue of $25,000, brought but $7000 into the provincial treasury, and nothing reached the king. In fact, this province, that had

cost the royal exchequer $6,000,000 all told, was on the verge of ruin. The Spanish residents were ready to abandon their property because the widely scattered and feebly manned *presidios* afforded no protection against their savage foes.

Even while the French were in possession of Louisiana, the Texans had carried on a brisk contraband trade with Natchez, New Orleans, and Mobile. Horses and cattle were driven along the "contraband trace" to Natchitoches, where they brought good prices and where merchandise was cheaper than the goods packed overland from the City of Mexico and Vera Cruz. All classes in the frontier communities — settlers, soldiers, friars, and officials — were smugglers. Even the governor had his share in the illicit profits, although he occasionally arrested French factors residing in Texas and sent them to the capital in evidence of his zeal for the public service. When Natchitoches became a Spanish town, this trade was no longer illicit, and trains of pack mules laden with West Indian and European goods followed the San Antonio road. Natchitoches was also headquarters for the Indian trade, whence agents were sent to the native villages with firearms, gunpowder, hatchets, knives, and liquor to exchange for furs and buffalo hides. The weapons and liquors quickly found their way to the nomad tribes in the interior, rendering them yet more dangerous, but there was no attempt to restrict the sale. Indeed, the Spanish governor of Louisiana favored the distribution of *ardiente* and inferior ammunition to the savages of the frontier, as a means to their speedy extinction.

The Coming of the Americans

After the peace of Paris extended the British dominions in America to the Mississippi River, the English began to cross the Appalachians in shoals, and their neighborhood became a menace to the Spanish possessions far more serious than the French. These colonizers came on their own initiative and in opposition to the royal decree that would have held the territory west of the Appalachians as a game preserve. They brought wives and children and were bent upon making homes in the wilderness of Ken-ta-kee. Flourishing settlements sprang into existence, and keel boats bearing the surplus produce of the pioneer farms began to find their way down the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee to the Mississippi River and New Orleans. When this avenue of commerce was finally opened, the "men of the western rivers" were not slow to avail themselves of the golden opportunity. Philip II had decreed (1560) that no foreigner might enter a Spanish colony without first obtaining the royal license, and neglect of this precaution was punished by confiscation of goods and expulsion from the country. No passport held was good for longer than two years except those of the merchants, which permitted three years' residence. But as the mineral wealth of the Mexican provinces and the profits to be made in trade became known, many Americans crossed the Texas border in defiance of the law, hoping to escape detection, or in any case to obtain concessions from some venal official.

In 1800 a gentleman of Irish birth and a protégé of General Wilkinson, Philip Nolan of Natchez, who had been engaged in the Texan trade since 1785, undertook to capture horses on his own account. He entered the country with a party of twenty men, fourteen Americans — backwoodsmen from Virginia and Tennessee — five Mexicans, and one negro. Nolan had an out-of-date passport from the governor of Louisiana, but his men were unprovided. Having reached the Brazos River, they built a log camp and a corral and had succeeded in imprisoning three hundred animals when they were attacked by a party of Spanish troopers. Nolan was killed in the first fusillade, and the others surrendered on the understanding that they would be allowed to return to Natchitoches. They were carried as far as Nacogdoches, but were thence haled to San Antonio, San Luis Potosi, and Chihuahua to be examined by Salcedo, captain-general of the Interior Provinces. He referred the matter to Madrid, and the unfortunate men were held five years in prison awaiting the king's decree. When at last it was announced, the sentence proved unexpectedly severe. Every fifth man was to be hanged. As there were only nine survivors, one life was thought to be sufficient to meet the royal order, but the other men were condemned to ten years of hard labor.[60] Our first-hand authority for this adventure is Ellis P. Bean, who, a Kentucky lad of seventeen, was coming down the Mississippi to Natchez with a scowload of flour and whiskey when he met Nolan and was induced to try his young fortune in Texas. On recovering his liberty, Bean

joined the revolutionary forces in the determination to strike a blow against that king at whose behest he had suffered so much.

Mexico was ripe for revolt. Three centuries of corruption and oppression had created a class antagonism that boded ill for the landowners and the bureaucracy. Pike was impressed with the contrast of riches and poverty and the general discontent prevailing in the northern provinces. The officers and grandees lived in much state, but "the mass of the people were naked and starved wretches," while the inferior clergy and the subordinate officials, usually creoles by birth, had no chance of advancement. "This had soured their minds to such a degree that I am confident in asserting that they will lead the van whenever the standard of independence is raised in the country." Pike was fully convinced that a revolution was not far distant, and that intervention on the part of his government would become inevitable. As Pike's party and its escort neared the Red River, they met a "number of runaway negroes" and some French and Irish emigrants from New Orleans. There were smugglers, too, engaged in carrying on illicit commerce with the Spaniards, "who on their side were equally eager." The trade in horses, though mutually advantageous, was once more contraband; but it was carried on, none the less, and at very great profit. All the conditions were those of an ill-regulated frontier. "The American emigrants are introducing some little spirit of agriculture near Nacogdoches and the Trinity; but the oppressions and suspicions they labor under prevent

their proceeding with that spirit which is necessary to give success to the establishment of a new country." [61]

The troubled state of Mexico had not escaped attention in the United States. The settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee had their old-time grudge against the exclusive commercial policy of Spain, while Natchez, Natchitoches, and New Orleans harbored many Mexican malcontents. Even at Washington there were plots to add Texas, possibly Mexico, to the possessions of the United States. All this seething discontent and desire for vengeance centered in the projects of Aaron Burr, ex-vice-president of the United States, a man of potent personality and vast ambitions, who gathered about him a group of hot-headed adventurers, even more talkative and restless than himself. Burr had purchased a grant of 400,000 acres on the Red River from Baron de Bastrop,[62] purposing to found an agricultural colony on the Louisiana frontier and await events. At Blennerhasset Island on the upper Ohio, he was collecting provisions, agricultural implements, and boats for the descent of the Mississippi, and there a score of backwoodsmen joined him for what was, on the face of it, nothing more than a promising colonial venture. However, rumors of the enterprise reached New Spain in exaggerated form. Colonel Burr was reported to have collected two thousand men and to be contemplating an attack on New Orleans. From that base, aided by the French creoles, who had their own reasons for hating Spanish rule, he was supposed to project the invasion of New Spain

and the overturn of the viceroyalty. Protests were addressed to the United States officials, and Burr's flatboats were stopped at Natchez, his men were scattered, and he himself brought to trial on charge of treason (1806–1807) by his political adversary, President Jefferson.

Meantime, stirring events were taking place on the Texas frontier. The long controversy between Spain and the American government over the navigation of the Mississippi was no sooner terminated by the cession of Louisiana, than the question of the Mexican boundary began to agitate the pioneers. The Red River, held by the Spanish government to be both the natural and the historic boundary, did not satisfy the ardent advocates of American expansion. They hungered for the fat lands of Texas, and urged that the purchase rights based on the French occupation ran to the Sabine or even to the Rio Grande. While the President and Congress were endeavoring to negotiate the cession of the Floridas, trans-Alleghany politicians were discussing ways and means of securing Texas. General Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the United States army, General Adair of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Daniel Clarke, and the Mexican Association of New Orleans were in sympathy with the project urged by hot-heads that an expedition be organized in the western states for the invasion of Texas. The precedent furnished by Miranda's expedition against Venezuela went far to assure them that a filibustering enterprise, if successful, would not be discountenanced by the Administration. Moreover, in the event of

war with Spain, which then seemed imminent, the movement would be unquestionably patriotic.

The irritation of the Mexican authorities at everything suggestive of trespass on the part of their northern neighbors was extreme. The rough handling to which Pike's party had been subjected is accounted for by the excitement aroused by Burr's enterprise. Cordero had received information of Dunbar's Red River expedition as early as July, 1806, and had forwarded the disquieting news to Salcedo. Under such circumstances the arrest and deportation of Pike's party seemed quite justified. Believing that the United States government was ready to countenance invasion, the Mexican government prepared for defence. The viceroy, Iturrigaray, sent fifteen hundred soldiers to Texas, the fortifications of San Antonio and Nacogdoches were strengthened, and in April, 1806, General Herrera was sent to Arroyo Hondo (Bayou Funda, seven miles south of Natchitoches) to forestall aggression. When the news reached Washington, Wilkinson was ordered to the front to drive the Spaniards back to the Sabine. This was the opportunity hoped for by the conspirators. The West was aflame with zeal to have it out with the "dons," to drive Herrera's force beyond the Sabine, — beyond the Rio Grande, — to the City of Mexico, to expel the Spanish bureaucracy from the American Continent, to set free an oppressed people, to establish a republican government in the land of Montezuma. The creoles of Louisiana sent a volunteer force, five hundred strong, to join Wilkinson at Natchitoches; Burr's flatboats were

preparing on the Muskingum; Jackson was building boats on the Cumberland for the same enterprise.

But the commander-in-chief moved with great circumspection. He lingered at St. Louis for three months after receiving his orders, and did not arrive at Natchitoches until September 22. Then he entered into negotiations with Governor Cordero (then in residence at Nacogdoches) relative to the withdrawal of the Spanish troops. The governor protested that he had no authority to consider so base a desertion of His Majesty's claims. Then Herrera cut the Gordian knot by suddenly, and apparently of his own responsibility, retreating beyond the Sabine (September 29–30). His troops, less than seven hundred in number, short of food and badly munitioned, were at the point of mutiny. Moreover, he had married an English wife and travelled much in the United States, and he was not eager to try conclusions with an enemy so sure to be reënforced by popular support. His retreat was later approved both by Cordero and Salcedo, on the ground that armed conflict would have "jeopardized" the disputed territory. Instead of following up his advantage, Wilkinson delayed a full month at Natchitoches, and did not appear on the Sabine until October 29. Then he paused upon the left bank and entered into negotiations with Herrera across the river. The result was the inglorious Neutral Ground Convention by which the district between the Sabine and the Arroyo Honda was to be evacuated by both parties, the two armies retreating to their respective fortifications

at Natchitoches and Nacogdoches. The details of these extraordinary negotiations have never been divulged. Burling served as go-between, and he kept his master's secrets. The indignant Westerners believed that their commander had been bribed by the Spanish government, and certainly Salcedo was well pleased with the result. He wrote to Viceroy Iturrigaray, "This treaty insures the integrity of the Spanish dominions along the whole of the great extension of frontier."

Then followed that extraordinary series of charges and countercharges, Wilkinson accusing Burr of treason against the United States, and Burr and his friends accusing the general of being subsidized by Spain, which culminated in Burr's trial at Richmond and his final acquittal. Chief Justice Marshall ruled that, while Burr had not been convicted of treason, he might suitably be indicted for high misdemeanor under the Act of 1794, which so designated the offence of any person who should, within the jurisdiction of the United States, begin or set on foot a military expedition against the territory of any foreign power with whom the United States government was at peace. Wilkinson took great credit to himself for having frustrated "a deep, dark, and wicked" conspiracy, "that would have shaken the government to its foundations," and his high-handed methods were fully indorsed by Jefferson. Only recently has the damaging fact come to light that Burling carried to Iturrigaray (January, 1807) a letter from Wilkinson, demanding that the Spanish government reward the commander-in-chief of the

army of the United States for services rendered in the frustration of Burr's expedition against Mexico, to the amount of $111,000. When Burling returned to New Orleans with the information that the claim would be referred to Madrid, Wilkinson forwarded to Washington the ostensible result of this secret mission, a report on the defences of the City of Mexico, with the request that the expenses of his ambassador, $1500, be met from the United States treasury!

During the Napoleonic Wars, Spain could do little for her colonies, and they were abandoned to the misgovernment and peculation of greedy officials. Crushed under the triple burden of a shackled commerce, grinding taxation, and military service, the creole population rebelled at last (1812) and, aided by the natives, succeeded in throwing off the hated dominion. The insurrection led by Hidalgo was suppressed, but it was the signal for revolts in other parts of Mexico and a ten years' war. The viceroy had no troops to spare for the defence of Texas, and this rich frontier province lay at the mercy of freebooters and filibusters. The Neutral Ground became an asylum for criminals, both American and Mexican. Refugees from justice and desperadoes gathered in this lawless land and earned an exciting though precarious livelihood by preying upon the commerce between Texas and New Orleans. Traders along the San Antonio road, unprovided with military escort, were forced to pay tribute to these highwaymen. Moreover, Hidalgo's revolt excited among the hot bloods of the American frontier new hopes for the acquisition of Texas. In 1813 Lieutenant Magee,

commander at Natchitoches, resigned his commission in the United States army and led a company of five hundred bandits, recruited in the Neutral Ground, across the Sabine. He succeeded in getting possession of San Antonio and declared for the Mexican republic, but the invaders were soon after ambushed and cut to pieces. Only ninety-three returned to Natchitoches, and Texas was well-nigh depopulated by the royalist revenge.

This unlucky expedition had no countenance in the United States, and President Madison issued a proclamation (1815) forbidding such enterprises as unlawful and seditious. By the treaty of 1819, our claim to Texas was formally surrendered in return for the cession of the Floridas, and the boundary between the United States and the Spanish possessions was fixed along the Sabine, the Red, and the Arkansas rivers to the forty-second parallel, and thence directly west to the Pacific Coast. The hope of annexing Texas to the United States was apparently thwarted.

Thenceforward Texas was a no-man's land, undefended by the Spanish government and abandoned to the anarchic elements of a frontier population. In 1816 a Mexican insurgent, Herrera, took possession of Galveston Island and set up a freebooters' republic; but a court of admiralty, with the right to issue letters of marque and to adjudicate prizes, was the principal organ of the nascent state. The sounds and bayous of the Gulf Coast furnished an ideal refuge for smugglers and pirates, and some thousand men, outlaws from the West Indies, Louisiana, and the Neutral Ground, gathered under Herrera's flag.

Twelve vessels were engaged in privateering in the Gulf, and they captured several Spanish merchantmen and conveyed the spoils to Galveston Bay. Slave ships bound for the West Indies were also taken, and the helpless human cargo driven to New Orleans for sale. In a few years Herrera was succeeded by Lafitte, a French creole driven (1814) from Barataria, whose audacity and success won him the title of Pirate of the Gulf. His subalterns owed respect to no flag and dared to attack even American vessels. The Spanish government had protested against interference from the United States, lest that dreaded power gain a foothold in Texas; but the depredations of the pirate commonwealth grew intolerable. In 1821 a United States war vessel was despatched to Galveston Bay, and Lafitte's colony was suppressed.

Spain had been unable to colonize Texas, but any attempt at settlement on the part of alien peoples was instantly resented. Lallemand, a distinguished French refugee, undertook (1818) to found a colony on the Trinity River twelve miles above the bay. The colonists were recruited from Napoleon's shattered army, and they made small success as farmers. The settlement was too weak to be a source of danger; none the less, a Spanish force was despatched to drive them from the land. In 1819 an expedition from Natchez, led by James Long, who had married a niece of Wilkinson, penetrated to Nacogdoches and induced the Americans settled thereabouts to declare Texas a free and independent republic. Their success was shortlived (1819–1821).

Spanish troops from San Antonio scattered Long's force and drove the Americans across the Sabine. Even men such as Barr and Davenport, who had lived in Texas twenty years and had sworn allegiance to the king of Spain, were obliged to leave the country. Nacogdoches and the ranch houses along the San Antonio road were destroyed, cattle were slaughtered, and fields laid waste. The whole region east of the Colorado River relapsed to wilderness. Bands of Apaches and Comanches, seeking horses, terrorized the isolated settlements, and Lafitte's slave gangs passed unchallenged to New Orleans. By 1830 the white population of Texas had dwindled to thirty-five hundred, and this dispirited remnant was gathered about the only remaining *presidios* of San Antonio and Bahia de Espiritu Santo.

Meantime the Revolution had been accomplished. Iturbide, the Spanish commander employed against the insurgents in the South, becoming convinced that his task was hopeless, proclaimed the independence of Mexico, and all classes, even the revolutionary leaders, flocked to his standard in support of the plan of Iguala. When it became evident that no Spanish prince would accept the proffered crown, Iturbide was declared emperor. But the republican elements were strong enough to prevent this consummation of the long struggle for self-government. Santa Anna succeeded in overturning the empire and a federal republic was inaugurated (1824). For Texas this was a bloodless revolution, accepted without enthusiasm or protest. The sparsely populated frontier province was united with Coahuila as a federal state.

Section IV

California

Colonization attempted. — The reign of Charles III (1759–1788) was signalized by a fresh colonizing impulse. His wise and disinterested minister, Don José Galvez, was sent to Mexico (1765–1771) as *visitador general* to correct the abuses of administration, mitigate the oppression of the Indians, and extend Spain's dominions in North America. In spite of strenuous opposition, he succeeded in ousting the corrupt incumbents and in placing honest men at the head of the government of New Spain. In the course of his five years' sojourn, this energetic and single-minded man set on foot a series of far-reaching reforms. The enterprise that most concerns this history was one that had the especial indorsement of the king, the founding of settlements on the northwest coast that should forestall foreign intervention and hold the country for the Spanish crown.

During the first half of the eighteenth century Great Britain was a menace, for her licensed privateers and even a ship of the line scoured the Pacific in pursuit of prizes. Woodes Rogers, George Shelvocke, Admiral George Anson, and other British sea-dogs whose exploits were less picturesquely chronicled, captured Spanish merchantmen, ravaged coast towns, and filled the breasts of Spanish *commandantes* with terror and dismay. Because of these depredations, every Manila galleon must needs be

attended by an armed frigate, a system of defence whose cost eventually ruined the Philippine trade. But none of the privateers attempted exploration or made any pretence of reënforcing Drake's assertions of British suzerainty. They were content to conduct their prizes into Puerta Segura and there rifle them of their silver and such Oriental stuffs as might be worth carrying away. Much better founded was the apprehension of danger from the north. Exploring expeditions, sent out by Peter the Great and his immediate successors, had given Russia a foothold on the Pacific. In 1728 Vitus Behring discovered the strait that divides Asia from America; later exploration revealed the haunts of the sea-otter, and by 1760 Russian fur traders had begun operations in the Aleutian Islands. If Spain's control of the Pacific was to be maintained, it behooved her to fortify California.

Galvez proposed three frontier posts on the three known harbors, San Diego, the Santa Barbara Canal, and Monterey, and summoned the Franciscans to his aid. This order had just succeeded to the Jesuit missions in Lower California, and the new venture was organized on the plan that had proved so successful at Loreto and La Paz, that of a monastic community in which the natives were the neophytes.[63] Since the conversion of the Indians and the defence of the coast were the dominant issues, and the industrial development of the country was but a secondary consideration, the mission and the *presidio* were the important concerns, and the *pueblo* was but little considered. Few contemporary Spaniards besides Galvez realized that the perpetuation of Spanish

control in Upper California depended on planting there a Spanish population. Costanzó's *Journal* (1769) states that the *visitador general* "felt the necessity of peopling the explored part of California with useful folk, capable of cultivating its lands and profiting by the rich products which it offers in minerals, grain or other fruits, and likewise capable of taking Arms in defence of their Houses whenever the occasion should arrive." [64] But colonists of this description were not to be had. The Spaniards who came to the New World were soldiers, missionaries, and adventurers: the peasants staid at home. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pioneer colonists of California were four officers, sixty-five soldiers, and seventeen Franciscans, with a suitable complement of servants, mule-drivers, and converted Indians. The *visitador general* succeeded in enlisting for the direction of this sacred expedition a group of singularly efficient and devoted men — Portolá, the wise and honest governor, Costanzó, the resourceful engineer, and Pedro Prat, the faithful surgeon; but no man counted for so much in counsel or in action as Father Junípero Serra, the *padre presidente* of the missions of the two Californias. Ten years' experience among the Pamis had convinced him that if the Indians were to be civilized, they should be taught the white man's industry as well as his religion, and he hoped to reclaim the degraded tribes of the north coasts and make of them self-supporting farmers. His work for the missions of Alta California evinced strong common sense as well as ardent sympathy for the people to whom his life was consecrated.

Galvez presided in person over the preparations at La Paz. Two barks, the *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos*, loaded with provisions, seeds, plants, and agricultural implements, besides bells and other church furnishings, were despatched up the outer coast. Because the sea voyage was always attended with serious risk, it was determined to send the cattle and mules, together with the major part of the people, overland from Santa Maria, the northernmost mission. At this rendezvous were collected the live stock and the generous toll of grain, dried fruits, wine, and olive oil contributed to this new enterprise by the several missions of California Baja. Two months were consumed in the toilsome traverse of the mountains, and when Father Junípero and Governor Portolá arrived at San Diego Bay (June 28, 1769), they found the ships already at anchor. The *San Carlos* had spent one hundred and ten days on the voyage and the *San Antonio* fifty-nine. Both crews had suffered terribly from scurvy — of which dread disease two-thirds later died — whereas the land party had not lost a man. No sooner were the forces reunited than the cross was raised, a mass was said, and the spiritual conquest of California had begun. The *presidio* was built upon a bluff overlooking the native *rancheria* and the bay, but the mission was soon removed from this arid spot to a fertile valley three miles back from the coast, where there was level land that might be irrigated from the river. The Indians were a brutish lot and could be enticed to baptism only by the promise of material reward. They had a

redundance of food (fish and acorns), but were eager for clothing and trinkets, and they hung about the camp and the wattled huts of the mission, pilfering everything they could lay hands on.

San Diego, however, was only the initial point in the scheme of conquest. Within two weeks of his arrival, Portolá set out with such soldiers as could be spared, two priests, *Padres* Crespi and Gomez, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and Costanzó, to seek Vizcaino's harbor of Monterey.[65] A long mule train, loaded with supplies, was driven over the rough trail prepared by a force of neophytes, armed with axes and spades. Following up the coast, between the foothills and the sea, they came into a wide valley stretching far inland. Its fertile plains were shaded by great oaks, and numerous springs, rising to the surface, kept the herbage green. Father Crespi thought this pleasant prospect "one of the marvels of this world," and opined that "ten or twenty laboring peons," [66] if set to work here, could provide sufficient grain for all the settlements. Here they proposed to found a mission dedicated to San Gabriel. Turning west, they passed up the Porciuncula River, where were "extensive swamps of bitumen," into another promising valley, Santa Catalina (later San Fernando), and over a precipitous pass (Las Casitas) into the smiling verdure along the Santa Clara River. This brought them to the shores of the Santa Barbara Canal, and here they found a tribe of some ten thousand souls who lived in comfortable wicker huts, planted grain, built wooden boats, made a rude pottery, and gave evi-

dence of a higher state of civilization than any yet encountered. Noticing the advantages the place afforded for a future mission, Portolá pressed on across the Santa Lucia Range and into the narrow valley of the Salinas River. The country grew "more fertile and more pleasing in proportion as they penetrated more to the north," [67] there was plenty of game, and the weather was perfect. The only serious danger that attended the march, according to Costanzó, was the proneness of the great *caballada* (troop of horses) to stampede at the slightest alarm. In the first week of October, they reached a wooded point (Point of Pines) in latitude 36° 40′. Here should be Vizcaino's landing, but since the wide, open bay seemed to afford no anchorage, Portolá failed to recognize the harbor and went on to the sand dunes above Point San Pedro. There a hunting party, ascending the hills (October 31), descried Point Reyes and the Farallones, the well-known landmarks of the Puerto de San Francisco. To the north and east of the intervening range lay a broad lagoon communicating, apparently, with the sea. A reconnoitring party sent out to fathom this mystery returned after four days and reported that it was in truth an arm of the sea surrounded by swamps and level glades, where were populous Indian villages shaded by great oak trees. This was an important discovery, but Portolá did not pursue it. There were only fourteen sacks of flour remaining, and the party was subsisting on geese and ducks. The men were sick and discouraged and clamorous for retreat. After looking in vain for the supply

ship that was to put in at Monterey, Portolá decided to return to San Diego.

In the year following, a second expedition, freshly provisioned, was sent to found the northern post on the roadstead now discerned to be Vizcaino's harbor. The *presidio* was placed on the "magnificent ampitheatre"[68] above the bay; but the San Carlos Mission was soon transferred (1771) to the Carmel River, south of the Point of Pines, where a heavy growth of grass indicated the "feracity of the land," and the sea teemed with fish. In the four following years, four more missions were founded at the most promising sites on the route between San Diego and Monterey — San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio de Padua. The proselyting zeal of Father Junípero quite outran his resources in the way of funds, supplies, and military guard, and he determined (1773) to make the long and difficult journey to the City of Mexico to intercede for more adequate support in his patriotic task of securing California for the Church and for Spain.

The new viceroy, Bucareli, was an administrator of unusual energy and foresight. It required little persuasion to convince him of the importance of supplying the north coasts with loyal and zealous friars who should bring the Indians under subjection. He immediately set about refitting San Blas, the indispensable base of supplies, and under instructions from the king despatched a vessel loaded with provisions to the starving missionaries. This efficient statesman arranged for an annual supply ship, forwarded mules and cattle to each mission, at the

The Mission of San Carlos on the Carmel River, 1792.

Indian Balsa or Tule Raft on San Francisco Bay.
Such rafts were used by the Ancient Egyptians.

charge of the Royal Exchequer, and ordered that goods be furnished at no more than 150 per cent advance on Mexican prices. The salaries of the *padres* ($400 each) were to be paid from the Pious Fund, the endowment of the Jesuit missions, and six servants were provided for each settlement at public cost.[69] At Father Junípero's express request, two blacksmiths and two carpenters were engaged to teach the natives their respective trades. The men were under contract for one year, but were offered inducements to remain as settlers. Bucareli further ordered that four *presidios* with adequate garrisons be maintained in Alta California, one at the Santa Barbara Canal and one at the Puerto de San Francisco, in addition to the two already in existence.

Serra was bent on building a mission in honor of the founder of his order, on the port that had long borne the name of San Francisco. To this end a land party had been sent out from Monterey (1772) to explore the lagoon and discover the shortest route to Point Reyes and the best location in its vicinity. Lieutenant Fages and Father Crespi followed the east shore of the bay until they found their progress blocked by an estuary which they called Estrecho Carquines, into which flowed an "unfordable" river (the San Joaquin), dividing them from their goal. Having no boats, they found the water an insuperable obstacle and returned disheartened to Monterey. The project of a mission at this northernmost harbor was discussed in the conference between Bucareli and Father Junípero, and another effort was determined on. The viceroy ordered a more extensive

survey to be prosecuted both by land and sea. Rivera y Moncada, who was intrusted with the former expedition, did not get beyond Point Lobos; but the *San Carlos*, deputed to examine the Puerto de San Francisco and ascertain its relation to the interior basin, sailed without difficulty between the two headlands and entered (August 5, 1775) the wonderful harbor, hitherto hidden from the explorers of the coast by the prevailing fogs. The *San Carlos* lay forty days at anchor under Angel Island while surveys were being made and a map of the three arms or bays (now denominated San Pablo, San Francisco, and Suisun) was prepared. Her commander, Ayala, thought he had discovered the best harbor in Spain's dominions, "not one port but many ports with a single entrance." [70] There were several *rancherias* along the reedy shores, and the natives came out in their frail *tule* rafts (*balsas*), bringing tribute of fish to the august strangers. Here Bucareli determined to plant not only a mission and a *presidio*, but a colony.

A young soldier, Juan Bautista de Anza, *commandante* of the *presidio* of Tubac in Sonora, had asked to be allowed to explore a route across the unknown stretch of desert and mountain to Monterey. This he offered to do at his own expense, but the advantage of overland communication with the northern post was so evident that the viceroy not only gave the desired permission, but fitted out the expedition (1774). Anza was accompanied by Father Garcés, who had crossed the Devil's Highway and the Colorado Desert three years before, but even so

Plano del Puerto de San Francisco, Reco
rrido por el Paquebot de S.M. San Carlos al mando
del theniente de Fragata de la Real Armada Don
Juan Manuel de Ayala, en este año de 1775.

First Survey and Map of the Bay of San Francisco, by Lieutenant Ayala.

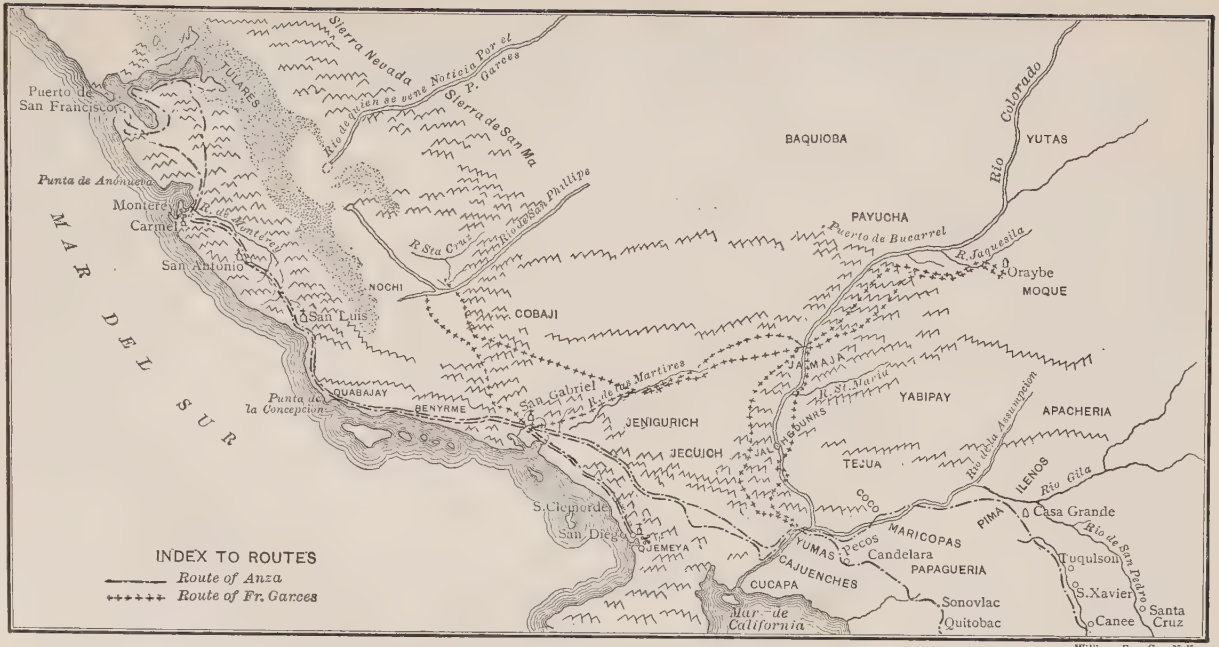
From the original drawing attached to the Log of the *San Carlos*, in the India Office at Seville. This map had been lost sight of until 1908, when it was discovered by an agent of the Commercial Club of San Francisco.

they found it a difficult task. Harassed by drifting sands, alkali water, scant pasturage, and the exhaustion of their animals, they would have perished but for the hospitality of the Yuma Indians and the devotion of a neophyte, escaped from San Gabriel, who served as guide. The trail ascended Coyote Cañon and, crossing the divide which Anza called San Carlos Pass, followed the San Jacinto River to the Santa Ana and so on to San Gabriel Mission.[71] From that point Portolá's route was followed to Monterey.

In 1775 the successful emissary was commissioned by Bucareli to collect a party of settlers and conduct them to the site of the proposed colony. The task was accomplished with an efficiency and despatch unusual in the officials of New Spain. Recruits were attracted by the bait of two years' pay, five years' supplies, and land of their own. The money stipend ($120) was to be paid from the date of enlistment, and the prospective settlers were fitted out with clothing. Only four civilian families were secured, but the twenty-nine married soldiers who were to make up the garrison of the new *presidio* brought up the quota of men, women, and children to two hundred and seven. The transportation of the supplies required one hundred and sixty-five pack mules, and three hundred and forty horses were provided for the people. These, with the herds of (320) cattle destined for food by the way and to stock the settlement, made an unwieldy caravan. Pedro Font accompanied the expedition as chaplain. The company set out in October, 1775, reached the Colorado

(*via* San Xavier del Bec and Tucson) without difficulty and, since it was the season of low water, succeeded in fording the river. But the crossing of the Colorado Desert meant terrible suffering. It was now midwinter; rain, hail, and snow fell in dismal alternation; the north wind blew incessantly, and the nights were bitter cold. The misery of the women and children was pitiful; even the men fell ill, and many of the cattle perished with exposure and exhaustion.

Anza acted the triple part of guide, commander, and physician; his courage and patience were unfailing, while his previous experience enabled him to guard against the most serious dangers, the failure of water and pasture. The train was divided into three companies, and the leader of each was instructed to keep a day's march apart from the others so that the scant *aguajes* (water holes) might not be exhausted. Where there were no springs to be found, wells were dug in the sand, and camping places were selected with a view to shelter as well as to grass and water. When possible, wood was collected and fires built for the comfort of the sick and feeble. Eight children were born *en route*, and at each birth the march was delayed till the mother should be able to ride on. Even so, one woman died; but it was on the whole a robust set of people that Anza brought into Coyote Cañon, where water was again abundant. At sight of the snow-covered summits of the San Jacinto Range, the women wept for dread of what was to come; but Anza assured them that the cold would abate as they approached the sea, and the descent



Williams Eng. Co., N.Y.

PADRE PEDRO FONT'S MAP OF CALIFORNIA, 1777.

into the valley of the San Jacinto, with its wealth of woods and pastures, cheered their hearts.

As they neared San Gabriel, a detachment was sent forward to warn the *padres* of the approach of the weary caravan. The men returned in a few days with seventeen fresh horses from the mission herd and the news of the massacre at San Diego.[72] Anza determined to leave his charge under the protection of the *padres* and join Rivera y Moncada, *commandante* of the California *presidios*, in a punitive expedition against the southern Indians. During the six weeks thus occupied (January 4 to Febuary 15, 1776), the San Francisco recruits had time to recuperate their strength in the hospitable quarters of the mission. On February 21 the march was again taken up. The cavalcade was now on the well-worn mission road (the *Camino Real*), and there were no more hardships. The Santa Barbara Indians brought them fish, and the *padres* at San Luis Obispo killed a fat deer for their delectation. At San Carlos the long-expected immigrants were received with open arms. Anza was delighted with the signs of prosperity at Carmel and with the promise of greater things. Soil and climate seemed adapted to the raising of cattle, grain, and vegetables. Salmon ran up the river and "sardines" were cast upon the beach. A boat and seine were all that was necessary to afford abundant food, but no one had thought fit to provide them.

An important part of Anza's commission was the exploration of the shores of San Francisco Bay and the determination of the best site for the *presidio* and the settlement. With Lieutenant José Moraga

and Father Pedro Font, a sufficient escort, and provisions for twenty days, he set out on March 23. The result was a more thoroughgoing examination of the peninsula than had yet been made. A high bluff (Fort Point), overlooking the narrowest part of the entrance, was selected as the best site for the *presidio,* and the irrigable land about Dolores Lagoon was noted as the spot best suited to a mission. Following the east shore of the bay, Anza came to that unfordable river which had turned back his predecessors. There the intrepid captain stopped. To north and south, before his baffled gaze, stretched the vast interior plain that divides the Sierras from the Coast Range, verdant and alluring; but to the desert-bred warrior the San Joaquin was an impassable barrier. Returning to Monterey, Anza gave over his charge to his trusty lieutenant, Moraga, and bade farewell to his little company. As he mounted his horse in the *plaza* and waved adieu to the people who had suffered good and evil fortune so patiently under his leadership, they crowded about him, especially the women, weeping and lamenting, more for his departure than for their own fate. In passionate Spanish fashion they poured out solicitude, prayers, praises, and regret, while the brave captain, protesting that he did not merit such devotion, assured them of the affection he had felt for them since the day of their enlistment, and praised their fidelity, saying that he had never had occasion to fear desertion on the part of the men who had given themselves and their families to this great enterprise. In his report to the viceroy, Anza called attention to

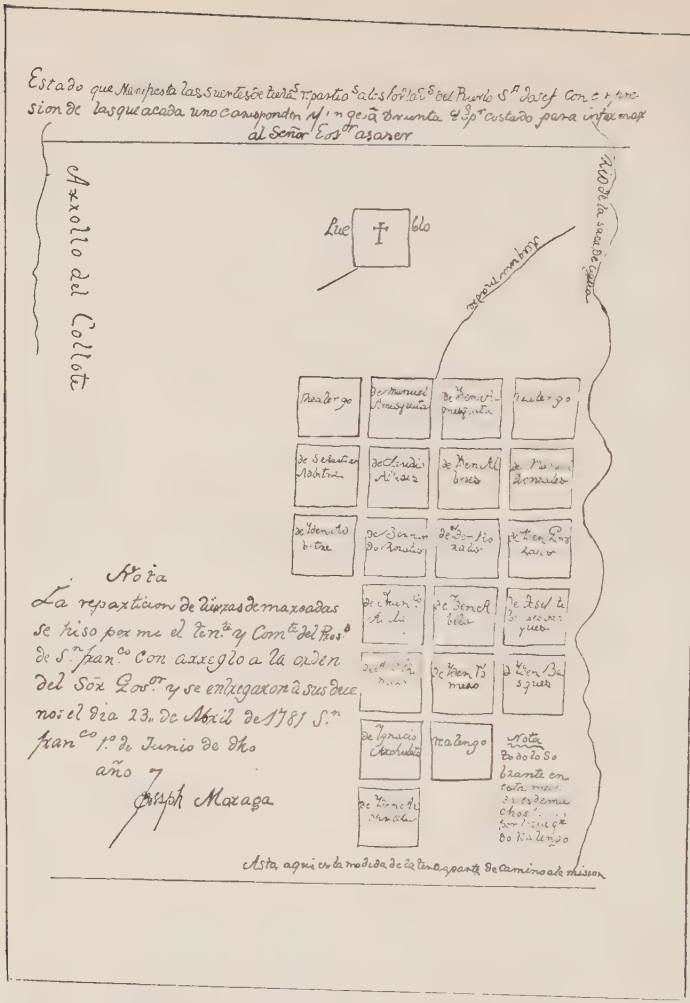
their loyalty. "If I may be permitted, I will render testimony to the devotion of these people who in time will be very useful to the monarchy in whose service they have voluntarily abandoned their parents, their country, and all that they hold dear." [73]

It would have been better for this critical venture if Anza had been continued in command; but he promptly returned to his post at Tubac, and Rivera y Moncada became responsible for the future of the colony. This officer was absurdly jealous of Anza and in disgrace with the *padres*, and he set his face against the project of a settlement on San Francisco Bay. Forced by fear of a reprimand from the viceroy, he gave most grudging aid to the building of the *presidio*, not, however, at the point indicated by Anza, but somewhat to the eastward on a semicircular bay where wood and water were more accessible. He refused, however, to have anything to do with Serra's mission. It was erected, notwithstanding, and dedicated on November 7. Unfortunately the site proved unsuited to colonization. The barren hills and sand dunes of the peninsula, swept by trade winds and overhung with fogs, offered little promise for the farmer, and Anza's settlers were fain to find shelter within the adobe walls of the fort, where they spent a year in demoralizing idleness.

Bucareli died in 1779, but Filipe de Neve, whom he had appointed governor of the two Californias (1775) as "a man endowed with wisdom and love for the service," undertook with zeal and intelligence to carry out the viceroy's purpose of colonizing the north coast with Spaniards. In 1777 de Neve removed

from Loreto to Monterey, thus indicating that Alta California was regarded as the more important province. On his journey north he visited the several missions and came to the conclusion that, although wheat and corn were being successfully grown at San Gabriel and San Antonio, the mission fields could probably do no more than provide for the increasing number of neophytes. If the *presidios* were ever to be provisioned from the country, California must have agricultural colonies. The Franciscans had selected the most favored locations, but the valleys of the Porciuncula and the Guadalupe were yet available, and colonists for a northern settlement were already at San Francisco. Anza's volunteers who were still idling about the *presidio* were glad to transfer their families to the more promising interior, and nine soldiers of the garrison who knew something about farming threw in their lot with the new venture. In November, 1777, a company of sixty-six men, women, and children, under Moraga's lead, took up their abode at San José de Guadalupe across the river from Santa Clara Mission. Each man was assigned a house lot about a central *plaza*, and irrigable land sufficient for the planting of a *fanega* of corn, also live stock and implements for its cultivation. He was assured support for the initial years, *i.e.* a stipend of ten dollars a month and rations. The river was dammed at public expense and a canal built to irrigate the land suited for ploughing.

De Neve carefully watched this initial experiment and apparently thought it successful, for, in 1781, he issued his famous *reglamento* fixing the conditions


Axxollo del Collote
Rio de la saca de agua
Acequia madre
Nota
Asta aqui es la medida de la tercera parte de camino a la mission

MAP OF PLOUGH LANDS ASSIGNED TO THE NINE SETTLERS OF SAN JOSÉ.

Each man received two *suertes*, two hundred varas square, and one *solar*, thirty varas square, in the *pueblo*.

"A manifest of the plow lands divided among the pobladores of Puerto San Josef with the representation of those which belong to each one [map torn] for the information of Señor Governor Fages.

"The repartition of the foregoing lands was made by me, the lieutenant and commander of the presidio of San Francisco in conformity with the order of his excellency, the Governor, and with all due attention to his desires, the 23rd day of April, 1781. San Francisco, June 1st of the same year. Joseph Moraga. All the residue in this survey is by far [map torn] therefore there remain *realenga* (royal or public lands). Up to this point is the measure of a third part of the road to the mission."

Axxollo del collote=Arroya of the Cayote. Acequeia madre=mother ditch. Ric de la saca de agua=river from which the water was taken.

for all subsequent colonies. The object stated was "to make this vast country . . . useful to the State, by erecting *pueblos* of *gente de razon* (people of reason in distinction from the savages) who, being united, may encourage agriculture, planting, the breeding of cattle and successively the other branches of industry; so that some years hence their produce may be sufficient to provide garrisons of the *presidios* with provisions and horses, thereby obviating the distance of transportation and the risks and losses which the royal government suffers thereby." [74] It was hoped that "the progressive augmentation" of the population of the first *pueblos* would "provide for the establishment of other towns and furnish recruits for the *presidio* companies." The terms were similar to those that had been offered to the San José settlers. Each *poblador* (citizen) was to receive an allowance of $116 for the first two years and $60 for each of the next three,— not in money, but in supplies at cost. A soldier's pay was $220 per year; but since this was largely met in goods at 150 per cent advance on Mexican prices, the position of the colonist was not inferior. To each family was to be allotted, on condition of repayment, ample stock — viz., two mares, two cows, one calf, two sheep, two goats, one yoke of oxen, one pack mule, and a variety of tools — one ploughshare or point, one hoe, one axe, etc. Each man was furnished with two horses, a musket and a leather shield, and he must hold himself equipped to answer the governor's call for the defence of the country. The community was provided with breeding animals and with a forge and anvil and "the

necessary tools for carpenter and cast work." Four square leagues of land were assigned to each *pueblo* and surveyed into village, tillage, and pasture lands. The house lots, seventy-five *varas* square,[75] were to be located about the *plaza*, and a series of plough fields, each two hundred *varas* square, was surveyed in the area deemed most fitted for cultivation. Every *poblador* was entitled to a house lot and two *suertes* of irrigable and two of non-irrigable land, the total grant amounting to about twenty-eight acres. Title was assured at the end of five years, provided the settler had in the meantime built his own house and lived in it, planted fruit trees on his land, ten to a *suerte*, doubled his original endowment of cattle and tools, and performed his due proportion of the public works.

Irrigation was a race heritage of the Spaniards. The Moors had taught them how to make good an insufficient rainfall by conducting streams on to the fields, and much of the central and southern portion of the Spanish Peninsula had been rendered productive by artificial canals. These were usually undertaken by the towns for the benefit of their inhabitants, and the common ownership of the source of supply — spring, well, or river — was the ancient Spanish usage. De Neve was therefore proposing nothing new when he made the building of dams and canals a collective obligation, and intrusted the town authorities with their maintenance and with the equable distribution of water. Other common interests were met in this same coöperative fashion. A common field (*proprio*) was set aside for the public

sowing. Every *poblador* must perform his share of the common tillage, putting in one *almud* or twelfth of a *fanega* of corn, and the crop went to meet municipal expenses. The pasturing of cattle was not only an individual right, but a common obligation.[76] Two *pobladores* were delegated to the care of the large cattle, mares, asses, and cows; but each proprietor must see to the marking and branding of his own stock, and the record of the branding irons was to be kept by the town authorities.[77] The advances made to the settlers in money, horses, cattle, seed, etc., must be refunded within five years of the first occupation out of the produce of their lands and the increase of their stock. The grain and cattle brought to the *presidio* by each *poblador* were to be credited to his account at the "just" prices established by the governor.[78]

The *pueblo* on the Porciuncula, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, was founded in 1781. With considerable difficulty twelve families were recruited in Sonora, Sinaloa, and Guadalajara, and brought across the desert to San Gabriel. They were a dubious group. Of the men, but two were full-blooded Spaniards, one was a *mestizo*, four were negroes or mulattoes, and five were Indians, while the women were Indians and mulattoes. Not one of the forty immigrants could sign his own name. The government stipend was probably necessary, yet it seems to have had an enervating effect. The men readily accepted the loan of cattle and money, but they were slow to meet the obligations involved. When the land grants were confirmed in 1786, five of the twelve

settlers were rejected because of indolence. The San José colonists proved no better farmers. Proud of their Spanish name and lineage, they regarded labor as degrading, and managed to hire neophytes from the missions for such work as might not be avoided. Both *pueblos* soon degenerated into lawlessness and vice and became harbors of refuge for broken-down soldiers and renegade sailors, who married Indian women and spent their useless lives in gambling and drunkenness. The *alcaldes* were often in league with the lawbreakers, and the town population, far from being the strength of the new province, became the most perplexing problem of the government. By 1790 the number of householders in San José had doubled, the increase being derived from the neighboring *presidios;* but they were still living in miserable shacks with palisaded walls and sod roofs, and their crops and cattle had multiplied but slowly. Los Angeles, in the same year, boasted twenty-eight families, and their wheat harvest was greater than that of any California mission save San Gabriel. The houses were built of *adobe*, and the town was enclosed within an *adobe* wall.

The third and last of the *pueblos* was founded by Governor Borica (1797) near the mission of Santa Cruz. He besought the viceroy, Branciforte, for whom the new settlement was named, to send practical farmers, carpenters, masons, tile-makers, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, and sailors; but though land and cattle, supplies and money stipend were offered, the result was very disappointing. Only nine families were collected. The men were of

Spanish blood, to be sure, but they were vagrants and petty criminals, not farmers and artisans, and the denizens of Branciforte soon attained a reputation for mischief-making rather than for hard work.

Borica was the last of the statesmanlike governors. He set himself to correct the vicious tendency of the *pueblos* by prohibiting the importation of brandy and *mescal* (a liquor distilled from the century plant) and by deposing the corrupt *alcaldes*. Neglect of tillage was punished by fines and, in case the delinquent proved incorrigible, by forfeiture of land. For the benefit of the oncoming generation, Governor Borica ordered that secular schools should be opened in San José and in Los Angeles, and that parents be compelled to send their children, paying a cent a day for each child.[79] The growing boys of San Diego were apprenticed to a trade, and night schools were maintained for the soldiers, one dollar being withheld from each man's pay on this account. The governor invaded even the sacred precincts of the missions, and directed that the Indians be taught Spanish, in accordance with the royal order. He sent six masons, two carpenters, and three blacksmiths, at government expense, to teach the Spanish children and the natives certain useful trades. The wages offered the weaver were $30 a month, and the governor directed that if he neglected his duties he was to be chained at night. These master workmen were under a five-year contract, and it was hoped they would remain as settlers, but they all returned to Mexico within five years. The boys and girls of the garrison families got little benefit from this in-

struction, but the neophytes acquired some useful arts. Borica gave assiduous attention to the industrial possibilities of the country. A flour mill was put up at Branciforte and a soap factory at Monterey, while the increase in the number of sheep, as a foundation for woollen manufactures, he made a matter of keen concern. His efforts were ill requited, for all industries languished. In 1800 the combined population of the three towns did not exceed five hundred and fifty: one hundred and seventy in San José, three hundred and fifteen in Los Angeles, and sixty-six in Branciforte. Of the one hundred families represented, thirty had been imported from New Spain, and seventy were those of retired soldiers. Field labor was for the most part performed by *gentiles* (wild Indians), who were paid in grain and blankets which the colonists could ill spare. Nine thousand bushels of wheat were grown each year, and the herds of the *pobladores* had multiplied to 16,500 cattle and horses and one thousand sheep.[80] In this same year, while at the three royal *ranchos* — San Diego, San Francisco, and Monterey — there were but 18,000 head, the eighteen missions possessed 153,000 cattle, horses, and mules, and 88,000 sheep.

Worn out by six years of arduous service, Borica retired in 1800, with the recommendation that the administration of the two Californias be divided. The enormous distances to be traversed and the vexatious delays involved in transmitting orders, the diverse industrial and monastic interests, rendered this measure necessary. The suggestion was

adopted, and the first governor of California, Baja, was appointed in 1805. The southern capital was placed at Loreto, and the boundary was fixed at San Miguel.

All the statesmanlike Spaniards who had to do with California urged colonization as essential to the defence of the coast and the permanent prosperity of the province. Witness Costanzó: "The first thing to be thought of, in my opinion, is to people the country. *Presidios* to support the missions are well enough for a time, but there seems to be no end of them. Some missions have been for a hundred years in charge of friars and presidial guards. The remedy is to introduce *gente de razon* among the natives from the beginning. Californians understand this, and clamor for industrious citizens. Each ship should carry a number of families with a proper outfit. The king supplies his soldiers with tools; why not the farmer and mechanic as well? They should be settled near the missions and mingle with the natives. Thus the missions will become towns in twenty-five or thirty years." [81] De Neve was animated by a lofty public spirit, and his scheme of colonization will bear favorable comparison with that of William Penn or Oglethorpe. That he failed to bring to California a thrifty and industrious farming population was due mainly to the fact that there were few such immigrants to be found in New Spain, and the mother country was too remote to furnish colonists. The available Spaniards were, for the most part, discouraged soldiers, unaccustomed to industry, and broken-down adventurers, while the

mestizos and mulattoes enlisted had inherited the vices rather than the virtues of their progenitors. The burden of obligation to the government was not a light one ($500 for each family imported would be a fair estimate), and the standard of achievement set was too much to expect of men who were bringing an arid soil under cultivation. The climate, moreover, was delightful but enervating, and the very ease with which food and shelter might be had, acted as a deterrent to labor. Finally, the successors of de Neve and Borica gave slight attention to industrial interests, while the *padres*, far from forwarding the growth of the *pueblos*, regarded them with increasing disfavor, disputed their right to pasturage, forbade intermarriage with the neophytes, and even withheld the religious services demanded of the only clergy in the country, until due compensation was tendered.

The colonization of California was undertaken by men of marked ability and devotion. No English colony had more far-sighted and disinterested service than was rendered by Galvez, Bucareli, de Neve, Borica, Portóla, Costanzó, and Anza; but the prime essential in colonial development, settlers of resolution and resource, was lacking, and thus all the heavy expenditure in money and in human energy came to little. Vancouver, the British admiral who visited Monterey in 1792, expressed his astonishment at the petty results of Spanish enterprise in California. "Why such an extent of territory should have been thus subjugated, and after all the expence and labour that has been bestowed

upon its colonization turned to no account whatever is a mystery in the science of state policy not easily to be explained." [82]

Causes for Failure

All projects for the colonization of Texas and New Mexico had failed for like reasons. The families transported at so great cost to the valley of the Rio Grande and the land of the Tejas had neglected the cultivation of the soil and fallen into idleness and vice with fatal facility. Nowhere, in fact, did the viceroys succeed in planting self-supporting settlements. The failure of Spain to develop her American possessions shows in marked contrast to the rapid growth of the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The contrast is in part to be accounted for by physical differences. The Spanish colonies were more remote from the mother country and less adapted to the method of cultivation familiar to Europeans, and the initial stages of settlement were more difficult. The population of Spain was stationary, while that of seventeenth-century England was rapidly increasing. So eager were Englishmen for the new industrial opening that farmers and artisans were shipped to the Atlantic coast by planters' associations at the company's cost, whereas the royal treasury was heavily taxed to support the Spanish colonies.

Nevertheless, the attitude of the Spanish government toward its New World plantations was the prime cause of failure. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the mercantile policy was main-

tained with consistent thoroughness, and the several colonies were administered for the benefit of the mother country and in the interest of the merchants of Seville. Moreover, the grandees who were intrusted with colonial office were not chosen with a view to disinterested and effective service, and, with few exceptions, they regarded such appointment as opportunity for the exploitation of their subjects and the building up of their own fortunes. The same attitude characterized to a marked degree the priests and soldiers sent out to the colonies. Every man of Spanish blood thought himself above the necessity of work and expected to subsist off the forced labor of the natives. The *encomienda* was intended to prevent the enslavement of the Indians, but it led to peonage, a form of slavery which gave the proprietor all its profits with none of its responsibilities. The people imported from the Canary Islands, from Cuba, and from Sonora could not plead race pride as ground for exemption from labor, but they, too, belonged to the non-productive classes, being for the most part convicts, prostitutes, and abandoned children. Lord Bacon had early protested against the sending of such colonists to Virginia. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked and condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought

to be gardeners, ploughmen, laborers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers." [83]

Success of the Missions

The only flourishing enterprises in California were the missions, and here the aspiration of Pope Alexander for the conversion of the aborigines was being realized. The proselyting zeal of the Franciscans led them to undertake the most hazardous journeys in search of farther fields of conquest, and they hesitated at no labor and no self-denial. Their desire to found new missions, baptize new tribes, and thereby add to the glory and extend the power of their Order and of the Church amounted to a passion and transformed these friars into fearless explorers. In 1776 Father Escallante of Santa Fé, with a brother Franciscan and a small party of soldiers, undertook to find a direct route across the mountains to Monterey. He ascended the Rio Grande to the rivers that flow westward to form the Colorado, and thence followed an Indian guide to the land of the Timpanagos (Utah Lake). Finding that an impassable desert lay between this oasis and his goal, Escallante turned south to the Sevier River. Not until provisions were exhausted and his little party became mutinous did the resolute *padre* consent to return to Santa Fé. The natives conducted them to one of the few practicable crossings of the vast cañon of the Colorado, a ford still called in memory of this exploit, *El Vado de los Padres*. Father Francisco Garcés, who accompanied Anza on his first

and second expeditions to California, was not content with this strenuous service. Parting from the expedition at Yuma (1776), alone and on foot, he journeyed up the desolate *mesas* of the Colorado, visiting tribe after tribe, baptizing their children, and subsisting on their bounty, until he came to the Moqui pueblo of Oraibe. He had hoped to recover these apostates to the faith; but the Moquis were suspicious of all Spaniards, and after a brief experience of their inhospitality, Garcés returned to the Yumas. It was his ambition to found a mission at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, and the project was approved by the authorities, for the civilization of the tribe that controlled the route from Sonora to Alta California was a matter of political importance. The outfit furnished, however, was not that of a mission or *presidio*, but that of a *pueblo:* twenty families and twelve laborers with four hundred animals — cattle, sheep, and horses — four priests and a corporal's guard of soldiers (all that could be spared from the garrisons of Altar, Tucson, and San Gabriel), commanded by Rivera y Monçada. Two settlements were planted on the west bank of the Colorado, La Purissima Conception and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bucuñer, but the outlook was ominous. The Yumas had been led to expect gifts of blankets, beads, and tobacco, as compensation for their reception of the white men. They were outraged when they found that no largess was intended, that the cattle were trampling down their scant harvests and eating the mesquite beans on which they relied for food. In the night of July 17, 1781, a concerted

Hopi Pueblos, Cañon of the Colorado River.

attack was made on the two *pueblos*, and the Spaniards were killed to a man. Father Garcés, the fearless friend of the Indian, perished, as well as Rivera y Monçada, who had small faith in the wisdom of attempting to civilize the aborigines. The authorities determined to found no more *pueblos* that could not be adequately protected.[84]

The direct route between New Mexico and California remained a dream throughout the Spanish occupation. Humboldt noted in 1803 that no traveller had yet penetrated from Taos to Monterey, and that, because of the inertness of the Spanish authorities, the trade route that would foster commerce and strengthen both provinces remained to be discovered.

The submissive Coast Indians of California offered a far more promising mission field than the fierce tribes of the interior, and the Franciscans gave their best men to the task of converting them to the faith. The progress from San Diego to San Francisco had been like a crusade. With the achievement of success and the attainment of material comfort, missionary ardor languished. The later *padres* were more zealous for the enrichment of existing foundations, the embellishment of existing churches, than for seeking out new and difficult fields of conquest.

In 1784 Junípero Serra died, worn out by thirty-five years of strenuous mission labor — fifteen years among the Indians of Upper California. Many times he had journeyed by land or by sea the entire length of his apostolate, visiting the several stations, ministering to the needs of priests and soldiers, neo-

phytes and *gentiles*, showing equal concern for little children and powerful *caciques*. He had founded nine missions along the *Camino Real* — San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, San Carlos, Santa Clara, and San Francisco de Dolores — and the number of Indian converts had risen to five thousand. Substantial buildings, churches, dwellings, and storehouses had been raised at the older missions; large areas had been planted to wheat, corn, barley, and beans, and the yield of cereals was 15,800 bushels per year. The two hundred cattle supplied by the government had multiplied with extraordinary rapidity on the native grasses. There were in 1784 more than five thousand mules and cattle, as many sheep, and four thousand two hundred and ninety-four goats. The olive trees planted at San Diego bore abundantly; grapes, pomegranates, and citrus fruits throve in the orchards of San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano, while in the rich black soil of Santa Clara cereals and garden vegetables flourished, so that the material prosperity of the establishments seemed assured. La Perouse, the French explorer, who visited Monterey in 1785, found the friars of Carmel living in great comfort off the produce of their fields. "The crops of maize, barley, corn, and peas cannot be equalled but by those of Chili," [85] while the yield of wheat was not infrequently one hundred fold.

The labor of the mission farms was performed by the Indians under the immediate supervision of the friars. The neophytes were taught to plough and

sow and harvest the grain, to tend the cattle and drive the rude wooden-wheeled ox carts. The more intelligent men were trained as carpenters and masons and smiths. They shaped the adobe bricks and pressed and baked the tile and raised the churches that are still the glory of California. Indians were even found with artistic taste sufficient to execute the frescoes and paintings and the crosses of silver and iron with which the interiors were enriched. The women were taught the domestic arts; baking, spinning, weaving, and the fashioning of garments. The implements were of the rudest and the results meagre, but the whole Christian population was clothed and fed by its own industry. The *padres* had no ambition to do more. Corn was parched in bark baskets over open fires and ground between *metates*, after the primitive Indian fashion. The French explorer gave the establishment of Carmel a hand-mill with which four women could accomplish as much as one hundred with the *metate*. When von Langsdorff visited Carmel twenty years later, this mill had disappeared and no new one had been supplied. The fathers wanted no labor-saving machinery, because they had more labor than they could use, and the neophytes must be kept busy lest they get into mischief. To meet the extraordinary supply of flour required by the occasional vessels that put into Monterey, the women were obliged to work night and day.

Good Catholic though he was, La Perouse thought the régime imposed by the friars unnecessarily severe. The neophytes were allowed no free time.

Their day was portioned out to labor and prayer, as in a monastic establishment. Any deviation from a discipline that must have been extremely irksome to this primitive people was promptly and severely punished. The Frenchmen saw Indians who had been cruelly beaten, lying in the public stocks or loaded down with chains, and they heard the lashes administered to the women and shuddered at their cries for mercy. To the *padres* such punishments seemed a suitable penance and essential to the salvation of the soul that had lapsed from grace; but La Perouse thought the lot of the neophyte differed little from that of the slaves on a West Indian sugar plantation. They were compelled to perform all the labor of the mission establishment and received in return a daily dole of broth and bread and a scant allowance of clothing. No Indian was allowed to leave the premises without permission, and if he did not return at the stipulated time, a posse of soldiers was put on his trail. When caught, the unfortunate man or woman was beaten with fifty stripes. Regarding the situation through the light of the teachings of Rousseau, La Perouse exclaims: "But would it be impossible for an ardent zeal and an extreme patience to make known to a small number of families the advantages of a society based on human rights; to establish among them the right of property so attractive to all men; and by this new order of things, to induce each one to cultivate his field with emulation, or else to devote himself to work of some other kind?" [86]

De Neve believed that the Indians should be

given the normal human inducements to labor and urged that lands be assigned them. He held that the Indians would make more rapid progress if they were less constrained, and he undertook to provide each Indian village with a tribune who should represent them before the civil authority whenever they were maltreated by the soldiers or unduly oppressed by the friars. Both de Neve and Borica (1795) remonstrated with Lasuen, the second president of the missions, against the "enslavement" of the Indians, and refused to furnish soldiers to recover the runaways. There were two hundred and eighty desertions and two hundred and three deaths — fully half the neophyte population — at San Francisco de Dolores in that single year, and the situation had become intolerable. Borica instanced as causes of this unprecedented mortality insufficient food, the filth in which the people lived, the restraints imposed on men accustomed to the largest freedom, the custom of confining the women and girls in crowded and ill-ventilated *monjas* or female quarters. Lasuen promised that a more humane régime should be introduced — shorter hours and better food, with a more generous allowance of recreation — and the number of lashes that might be inflicted for a single offence was reduced to twenty-five. Dolores was probably an extreme case, but there were serious complaints from the other missions.[87]

The isolated position of the friars and their absolute power over the neophytes, coupled with relentless zeal for the conversion of the *gentiles*,

bred abuses that were little in keeping with the saintly devotion of Father Junípero. Vancouver, the English explorer, who visited the missions of San Francisco de Dolores, Santa Clara, Carmel, and Santa Barbara during his three years on the coast (1792–1794), was permitted to see little of these abuses; but to his Protestant mind the *padres* seemed engaged in a hopeless task. The Indians had profited little from the teaching given them; they were still living in frail wicker huts, filthy and squalid beyond description, and gave few signs of real progress. At Santa Clara, the fathers were then building adobe cottages, with garden ground attached, for the more promising neophytes, in the hope of inciting them to cleanliness and industry. But even here, at the most progressive of the mission farms, the tillage was of the rudest. "By the help of a very mean and ill-contrived plough drawn by oxen, the earth is once slightly turned over, and smoothed down by a harrow; in the month of November or December, the wheat is sown in drills or broadcast on the even surface, and scratched in with the harrow; this is the whole of their system of husbandry, which uniformly produces them in July or August an abundant harvest." The grain was threshed out on an open-air floor by the tread of oxen. Vancouver noted the herds of cattle and horses on the hills about the Bay and marvelled at their fecundity and the slight cost of rearing them. The Indians made excellent herders, and the fifteen head of cattle brought to Santa Clara in 1778 had multiplied a hundred fold in the fifteen years' interval.[88]

When von Langsdorff [89] visited Santa Clara in 1806, he found the Indian apprentices weaving a coarse woollen cloth sufficient for their own clothing. Besides the shops for blacksmiths and carpenters, there were soap-works and salt-works and vats for the refining of tallow, and a considerable traffic was carried on with San Blas in wool, hides, salt, tallow, soap, and butter. Von Langsdorff had seen the Kodiak thralls of the Russian-American Fur Company, and he marvelled at the excellence of the food furnished the neophytes; but he was no less astonished when he came upon a reclaimed runaway who had been bastinadoed and who hobbled about with an iron weight fastened to his foot. Kotzebue, the commander of the Russian exploring expedition fitted out by Count Krusenstern, visited Dolores mission ten years later and found the Indians housed in adobe huts, but still wretched and dirty. Both sexes were obliged to labor to the limit of their strength. The men did all the work of the fields, and the harvest was delivered to the missionaries and stored in magazines, the laborers receiving only so much as was necessary for their subsistence. Out of the thousand neophytes, three hundred died every year, and only vigorous missionary raids on the interior tribes kept up the quota of laborers. Ten different tribes were represented at this mission, speaking as many different languages, and all were but imperfectly acquainted with Spanish. They could therefore understand little more of the religious teaching than the forms. "The missionaries assured us that it was difficult to instruct them, on account

of their stupidity; but I believe that these gentlemen do not give themselves much trouble about it." "California is a great expense to the Spanish government, which derives no other advantage from it than that every year a couple of hundred heathens are converted to Christianity, who, however, die very soon in their new faith, as they cannot accustom themselves to the different mode of life." The unsympathetic Russian thought the fault lay in that the *padres* "do not take pains to make men of them before they make them Christians." [90]

Junípero Serra had hoped to make men of the savages to whom he preached the gospel, and intended that the neophytes should be assigned land of their own as soon as they were qualified to use it to advantage; but the later Franciscans postponed the emancipation of their charges from time to time, and it was not easy to convince them that these childlike people needed any other incentive to labor than the arbitrary command of their superiors. Meantime the natives, *gentile* and convert alike, protested that they were robbed of the land that had been theirs from time immemorial. It was quite true that the Franciscans had no valid title to anything more than the usufruct of the vast tracts which were tilled and pastured under their direction, neither had they any claim to the labor of the Indians — the law expressly forbade the granting of *encomiendas* to ecclesiastics — but they had forgotten the terms of their tenure. Galvez and Bucareli had planned that the natives of California should be led to form self-supporting communities like

those of New Mexico. Fages, de Neve, Borica, and other conscientious officials had protested that justice and the law required that every neophyte should be emancipated and placed on land of his own after serving a ten-year term. But the friars were the strongest party in the new province, and their policy prevailed. The neophytes were kept in a state of tutelage that offered few paths of advance.

Such population statistics as are available seem to show that, although subject to occasional variations, the neophyte population was practically stationary here as in Texas and New Mexico. There were twenty thousand neophytes in Vancouver's day, and Governor Sola's census for 1818 reported the same figure. According to Beechey, there were no more in 1825. The mission Indians were, in fact, rapidly dying off, but the labor force was as rapidly recruited from the wild tribes of the interior. Proselyting bands, soldiers and Indians, were sent up the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers to bring in new converts. Since the leaders were rewarded in proportion to the number obtained, their methods were often unscrupulous. Foreign visitors heard shocking tales of these kidnapping expeditions.

The Franciscan régime was no more favorable to colonization, and the Spanish population increased but slowly. Von Humboldt's estimate for 1803 was thirteen hundred whites and *mestizos*, and he attributed the tardy development of the country to the rigid military requirements and the opposition of the friars. "The population of New California would have augmented still more rapidly if the

laws by which the Spanish *presidios* had been governed for ages were not directly opposite to the true interests of both mother country and colonies. By these laws the soldiers stationed at Monterey [for example] are not permitted to live out of their barracks and to settle as colonists. The monks are generally averse to the settlement of colonists of the white cast, because being *people who reason* (*gente de razon*) they do not submit so easily to a blind obedience as the Indians." [91] La Perouse thought Alta California as promising a country as Virginia, notwithstanding its remoteness from Europe. In his opinion, its progress was retarded by celibacy and despotism. Good government and freedom of commerce would, in his opinion, "speedily procure it some settlers." [92]

Commercial Restrictions

Until 1800 there was no trade between California and the outside world except that carried on by the transport which brought the annual consignment of goods ordered for the missions and *presidios*, and these were sold through the appointed agents at exorbitant prices. No commerce was permitted with other vessels, even though they bore the Spanish flag. Exception was made in favor of the Manila galleon, which occasionally put into Monterey for supplies; but only under stress of weather and necessity for repairs or shortage of wood, water, or food, was a foreign vessel admitted, and even so, aid must be refused if, after investigation, the necessity was not evident. Aliens were never permitted on

shore except by express order. The transports carried back to San Blas some salt and salted meat and a few otter skins, the surplus products of the missions. Borica urged that the government send goods direct to the *pueblos*, taking grain in exchange, and the project was authorized by the crown; but through the duplicity or inertia of the officials, it failed of execution. The effect of these restrictions on industrial development was well-nigh disastrous. Missing the stimulus of a good market for their produce, the *pobladores* cultivated no more land than would supply their own immediate needs, while the heavy cost of European goods forced them to get on without the implements and machinery that would have enabled them to manufacture on their own account. A mission establishment could store its produce and await the arrival of a trading vessel, but the isolated farmer could not avail himself of such a chance. The needs of the *presidios* were met by *ranchos del rey* at San Diego and at Monterey.

La Perouse and Vancouver were cordially received at Dolores because they were engaged in scientific explorations and were therefore indorsed from Madrid. Both were liberally supplied with provisions from the mission stores, the only payment permitted being some tools, utensils, seeds, etc., which the *padres* gratefully received and utilized in the improvement of their gardens. Vancouver thought the Bay of San Francisco "as fine a port as the world affords; failing only in the convenience of obtaining wood and water." [93] He noticed that the Spanish commanders were content to take on a

very inferior quality of the latter necessity, and he attributed the prevalence of scurvy on their ships to carelessness in this regard. The British navigator was astonished to find no trading vessels in this "spacious port." There was literally no craft to be seen except an old rowboat and the frail rush canoes of the Indians. Yet there was every incentive for an extensive trade in tallow, hides, and cattle, in timber and otter skins. Von Langsdorff was as much impressed as Vancouver had been with the neglect of water transportation. Here were three missions, Santa Clara, San José and Dolores, gathered about the Bay, and yet the frequent communication between them and the *presidio* was carried on by a circuitous land route. It seemed to him "incredible that, in not one of them . . . is there a vessel or boat of any kind." [94] The Spaniards preferred to go three times the distance on horseback and to transport their produce in ponderous, slow-moving ox carts. At land travel, on the other hand, they were experts. "From St. Francisco any one may travel with the greatest safety even to Chili: there are stations all the way kept by soldiers." [95] When Krusenstern came in through the narrow strait to San Francisco Bay in April, 1806, he was hailed from Fort Point [96] through a speaking trumpet and, since by this time the old rowboat had disappeared, he could not get into communication with the *commandante*, Don José Arguello, until he sent one of the launches off to fetch him. De Resanoff desired to procure a cargo of provisions for the posts of the Russian-American Fur Company, offering cloth,

The Presidio of San Francisco in 1817.

leather, shoes, and iron implements — sheep-shears, whip-saws, etc. — in exchange. The monks were eager to sell their surplus products for these much-needed articles; but neither the *commandante* nor the governor nor yet the viceroy had authority to allow the trade. After much demur, de Resanoff was permitted to purchase $24,000 worth of wheat, flour, salt meat, salt, tallow, and soap from the monks, the governor consenting to serve as go-between and becoming personally liable for the transaction. The proposition that a regular trade be established between the Russian settlements and California was referred to Madrid, where it was consigned to oblivion.

Under the Spanish régime, American vessels rarely visited Californian ports because of the well-known risk of confiscation. Boston fur traders, bound for the northwest coast, occasionally put in for supplies; but they did not meet with an encouraging reception. The *Otter* (Captain Ebenezer Dorr) stopped at Monterey (1796) to leave some stowaways from Botany Bay, the first English settlers. The *Eliza* was ordered out of San Francisco Bay (1798) after securing a meagre allowance of provisions. The *Betsey* (Captain Winship) put into San Diego for wood and water (1800); but the *Alexandria* and the *Lelia Byrd*, smugglers attempting to purchase otter skins at this port in 1803, were roughly handled. Cleveland, supercargo on the *Lelia Byrd*, had circumnavigated South America, touching at Valparaiso where he narrowly escaped seizure and at San Blas where, by the special grace of the viceroy, he secured

permission to sell $10,000 worth of goods. Having purchased a quantity of sea-otter skins (1600) and learning that more might be had at San Diego, the venturesome Yankee made for that port. The *commandante* had several hundred skins, confiscated from the *Alexandria,* and private individuals were eager to dispose of more. In the attempt to get hold of these, Cleveland came into conflict with the authorities and therefore deemed it best to leave the harbor. As the *Lelia Byrd* sailed out of the narrow entrance, she was fired upon from the fortification at Point Loma, but passed out uninjured. Her return fire scattered the garrison and reduced the Spanish battery to silence. The *Lelia Byrd* returned to San Diego in 1804, and other Yankee vessels followed in her wake. Captain Shaler estimated their annual purchases of furs at $25,000.

At the close of the War of 1812, Yankee traders began to frequent the California coast, and their goods—hardware, ammunition, cloth, and blankets—were readily taken by both friars and officials. The *contrabandistas* ran great risks of being captured by Mexican privateers or by the California *commandantes,* and more than one cargo was confiscated and the ship's officers thrown into prison (*e.g.* Captain G. W. Ayres of the *Mercury,* 1814; Captain Smith of the *Albatross,* 1816). But the officials grew lax as the needs of the community increased, and after 1818 foreign traders had no difficulty at any of the California ports. Governor Sola established a tariff of duties on exports and imports which he levied on his single authority.

The struggle for independence had no champions in California. The white population, being almost wholly made up of the mission fathers and the *presidio* garrisons, declared for the king, and only uncertain rumors of the far-away conflict reached their ears; but a very apparent and bitterly lamented effect of the ten years' war was the failure of supplies. The San Blas transport was captured by the insurgents (1811), the hard-pressed viceroy could send no reënforcements, and the wages of officers and soldiers fell far in arrears. Food and clothing were furnished on credit by the mission fathers, the Spanish officials thereby incurring a heavy obligation which was never repaid. Governor Sola had been loud in his protestations of loyalty to Spain and expressed unmitigated contempt for the revolutionists; but he could not defend his position. The *presidios* were quite untenable; a few undisciplined soldiers cowering behind crumbling walls, a dozen rusty howitzers and some antique muskets liable to explode when fired, made up the defences of five harbors and two hundred leagues of scantily peopled coast. When in March, 1822, a war vessel sailed into Monterey flying the Mexican colors, Sola was fain to pull down the Spanish flag and run up the tricolor without striking one blow for his sovereign.

Luis Arguello, Sola's successor, the first republican governor, was a *hijo del pais* and a man of great force and originality. In 1805, while hardly more than a boy, he undertook an expedition into the interior, hoping to find a route to Santa Fé. His horseback party rode up the Sacramento until they faced the

lofty profile of the Sierras, and then, the snow-clad summits seeming an insurmountable barrier, they turned back. When this venturesome man succeeded his father as *commandante* at San Francisco (1806–1822), he wished to rebuild the ruinous *presidio*. With the aid of a carpenter deserted from a British vessel, he built a launch, trained a crew, and succeeded in towing over a raft of timber from San Rafael. This daring deed was sharply criticised by Governor Sola, who charged Arguello with insubordination and possible treason. No man could want a boat on the Bay of Francisco except for the purpose of smuggling or of carrying on illicit trade with the Russian settlements! The launch was seized and taken to Monterey, where it proved so convenient that it was never returned. No sooner was he governor of California (1823–1825) than Arguello negotiated an agreement with the Russian-American Fur Company by which they were to turn over half the otter skins taken for the privilege of fishing in the Bay. The same untrammelled official opened a trade with Bodega, which, though illicit, had great advantages for both parties. Such a man was not likely to feel bound by trade regulations enacted by the turbulent government at the City of Mexico.[97] Foreign commerce was a necessity for California, and he welcomed the first opportunity to supply his people with the manufactures they so much needed. In 1823 the *Rover* of Boston, Captain Cooper, came to Monterey with a cargo of cottons and other New England goods, and Governor Arguello, in defiance of the law but with the full approval of the Cali-

fornians, gave him license to trade. The profits on this transaction were so evident that Arguello undertook a venture on government account. He purchased the ship, loaded her with otter skins, and sent her to Canton under Cooper's command. She brought back a cargo of silks, cottons, etc., valued at $12,000. The way was open for a commerce with China that would have rivalled the old Manila trade; but Arguello was soon supplanted, and none of his successors cared to follow up the opportunity. Arguello, however, opened a customhouse at Monterey, and his example in admitting Yankee goods was imitated by his successors.

For years to come, California was provided with manufactures by Boston skippers who, having learned how to placate the officials, carried on a highly remunerative trade, exchanging groceries, cottons, cutlery, and liquors for otter and beaver skins. These last, carried to China, were sold to advantage, and a cargo of teas and silks was taken on for the Boston market. It was a round-the-world commerce that netted ten and twenty per cent on the capital invested, but the supply of furs was soon exhausted. In 1822 W. A. Gale, representing Bryant & Sturgis, a Boston firm, opened a mercantile house in Monterey. He began the collection and exportation of hides, a commodity much in demand among the shoe manufacturers of New England, and of which California had superabundance. In this same year John Beggs & Co., merchants of Lima, succeeded in negotiating a three-year contract with Arguello under which their vessels

were to take all hides and tallow offered by the missions, paying in money or goods at stipulated prices. Their agent, W. E. P. Hartnell, made his headquarters at Monterey. An attempt to pack beef for a distant market was made in 1824. Learning that California cattle were killed for tallow and hides alone and the carcasses wasted, Hartnell opened a packing house. Twenty salters and coopers, Irish and Scotch, manufactured on the spot the salt and barrels needed, and several cargoes of excellent pickled beef were forwarded to Lima;[98] but the Peruvian government, having no funds, was unable to fulfil its part of the contract, and the venture failed. Hartnell resided in Monterey as the representative of Beggs & Co. and for many years maintained an enterprising mercantile establishment, selling supplies to the *padres* and shipping to Lima the tallow taken in exchange.[99] Soon the southern missions demanded a share in this commerce, desiring to find a market for their surplus stock, and new concessions had to be made. In 1829 ships chartered by Gale and Hartnell were accorded license to touch at San Diego, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, and San Francisco for cargoes. Within a few years the five ports were thrown open to all comers, and the trade in hides and tallow was well under way.

From 1825–1834, the height of its prosperity, the lion's share of the hide trade was in the hands of a few Boston merchants. Dana's full and accurate description of the traffic is so well known that no quotations need be given here. During his two years on the coast (1835–1836) there were five

Fisherman's Wharf, Monterey.

Arguello's Custom House, Monterey.

American "droghers" [100] engaged in exchanging goods for hides; three carried Mexican or Peruvian colors, though their owners were Scotch and Italian, and three hailed from Oahu. The handicaps on the trade were already becoming apparent. A captain had to spend two or three years soliciting at the *ranchos* all the way from San Diego to San Francisco. The weight of the hides had dwindled to half, because the *rancheros* killed the animals too young. They never took the trouble to cure the skins, so every shipload must be carried to San Diego to be salted and dried. California hides, moreover, were more difficult to tan than those from Buenos Ayres and brought less in the Boston market. When Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, visited the Coast in 1841 there were sixteen vessels, mostly Americans, engaged in this "drogher" trade; but the annual output of hides had fallen from 100,000 (1838) to 30,000,—not enough to fill the holds of two first-class ships. The effect of the consequent competition for cargo was to raise the price of hides and the costs of the voyage.

The first British whaler put into San Francisco Bay for provisions in 1820, the Americans followed in 1823, and this harbor was for some years a favorite stopping-place on the homeward voyage. The *presidio* bay lay directly in the sweep of the tides and was not a safe anchorage. Merchant ships preferred Yerba Buena, a roadstead that offered shelter from the west winds and neighborhood to the missions of Santa Clara and San José; but the whalers made for Sausalito, because the water there was particularly

good, and William A. Richardson, the ex-mate of a British whaling vessel, had a ranch near by from which they could obtain supplies. In spite of the abundant resources of the region, the whalers soon found they could provision at less cost in the Sandwich Islands. The Mexican government imposed vexatious restrictions and heavy tonnage fees, while a ship could enter the port of Oahu duty free.

Captain Beechey, of the British ship *Blossom*, visited San Francisco Bay in 1826 in the course of his explorations of the North Pacific, and was astonished to find "in a harbor sufficiently extensive to contain all the British navy" no vessel except seven American whalers come in for supplies. His ship was challenged from Fort Point by "a soldier who protruded a speaking trumpet through one of the embrasures and hailed us in a stentorian voice"; but since there was no boat belonging to the garrison, the *commandante* came out to inspect the papers by Beechey's courteous aid. The *Blossom* was allowed to anchor off "a small bay named Yerba Buena," but the nearest trading establishment was at Monterey. Provisions were obtainable from the near-by missions, — flour, beef, vegetables, and salt; but the negotiations must be carried on through the governor, who pocketed the profits. The only buildings visible were the dilapidated adobes of the *presidio* and Dolores Mission. There were no cultivated fields about the Bay, and the garrison was still dependent on the farms of Santa Clara and San José for supplies. Beechey thought it a great pity that "so fine a country, abounding in all that is essential to man, should be

allowed to remain in such a state of neglect." "With the exception of the missions and *pueblos*, the country is almost uninhabited; yet the productive nature of the soil, . . . and the immense plains of meadow land, . . . show with how little trouble it might be brought into high cultivation by any farmers who could be induced to settle there." [101] On the road between San Francisco and Monterey there were but three ranch houses and these of the poorest description.

"The trade of Upper California at present consists in the exportation of hides, tallow, *manteca* [butter], horses to the Sandwich Islands, grain for the Russian establishments at Sitka and Kodiak, and in the disposal of provisions to whale-ships and other vessels which touch upon the coast, — perhaps a few furs and dollars are sent to China. The importations are dry goods, furniture, wearing-apparel, agricultural implements, deal boards, and salt; and silks and fireworks from China for the decoration of the churches and celebration of the saints' days." [102] The prices of all imported goods were high, because the supply was always short of the demand and the costs of transportation great. To the risks and delays of the voyage round the Horn must be added, not only the import duties (forty-two per cent), but the tonnage charges ($1.50 per ton) and the expense of landing the cargo. Under the vexatious navigation act devised by the Mexican Assembly, every foreign vessel must put into Monterey, present the required papers, and pay duty on all goods destined for sale. Under no circumstances might a trader put into an

earlier port and break stowage. He must discharge the whole cargo at Monterey and reload for his run along the coast. Since at no place in California could a full cargo be disposed of, the trader must go from port to port, paying the heavy tonnage fees at each new entry. The commerce could be prosecuted only by evasion, and it soon became customary for a ship from the Sandwich Islands or Boston to anchor offshore under the lea of a convenient island, while her cargo was being conveyed in lighters to the near-by settlements.

It seemed to the Englishman passing strange that the Californians did not make for themselves the articles for which the raw material was at hand. "They were actually living upon the sea-coast and amongst forests of pine, and yet were suffering themselves to buy salt and deal boards at exorbitant prices." [103] "They were purchasing sea-otter skins at twenty dollars apiece, whilst the animals were swimming about unmolested in their own harbours; and this from the Russians, who are intruders upon their coast, and are depriving them of a lucrative trade; and again, they were paying two hundred dollars for carts of inferior workmanship, which, with the exception of the wheels, might have been equally well manufactured in their own country." [104] California combined all the essentials of prosperity in climate, soil, forests, plains overrun with cattle, excellent ports, and navigable rivers. "Possessing all these advantages, an industrious population alone seems requisite to withdraw it from the obscurity in which it has so long slept under the indolence of the people

and the jealous policy of the Spanish government. Indeed, it struck us as lamentable to see such an extent of habitable country lying almost desolate and useless to mankind, whilst other nations are groaning under the burthen of their population." [105]

Beechey expressed his conviction that the Mexican government must institute an economic reform, or some other power would take control of this promising province. It was "of too much importance to be permitted to remain long in its present neglected state." There was general discontent with the Mexican administration. The governor's salary was eleven years in arrears, and the soldiers' allowances had long been withheld. By way of meeting immediate necessities, a cargo of cigars had been shipped to Monterey on which the men might draw against their back pay! Under the Spanish régime, soldiers were enlisted for ten years, at the end of which term they might retire to one of the *pueblos* and be assigned a portion of land for the support of their families. This privilege was now withheld. Retiring soldiers were allowed to pasture stock on the public lands, but could acquire no permanent title, — a restriction that effectually prevented their becoming farmers.

The Mexican government was far from appreciating the value of this northernmost province and, proposing to utilize it as a penal colony, sent shiploads of convicts to Monterey and Santa Barbara to serve out their terms at public labor. These were sometimes artisans condemned for slight offences and in such case became useful colonists; but the greater part added a difficult element to the scant

white population. A formal protest drawn up by the law-abiding citizens and indorsed by the territorial deputation (1829) had its effect. No more shiploads of criminals were sent from Mexico; but the soldiers furnished to the garrisons were little better, being for the most part vagabonds and ne'er-do-weels, recruited from the slums of the cities. In these same years a considerable number of foundlings and destitute children was despatched to the northern posts in the expectation that the boys would be bound out to service and the girls married to soldiers and ex-convicts. Indeed, more than one governor urged that marriageable maidens be furnished to mate with such dubious characters, as the *padres* refused to allow their Indian charges to wed.

No one of the mushroom presidents who rose and fell at the City of Mexico regarded California as a possession that was worth the cost of protection. Fully absorbed in maintaining their precarious hold on the reins of government, they could sacrifice neither men nor money to the defence of this remote territory. In 1829 the military forces of the two Californias numbered four hundred and seventy men, and this feeble, undisciplined, and badly armed garrison was divided among half a dozen *presidios*. The forts had not been repaired nor the ordnance replenished since Borica's day. In case of foreign invasion, the people would have no recourse but to retreat to the interior, carrying their portable possessions and driving their cattle and flocks before them. The weakness of the garrison rendered a political revolution a matter of astonishing ease.

The frequent changes of government at the Mexican capital, the discontent of the ill-paid garrisons in California, the rivalry of north and south fomented by the ambitious politicians of Los Angeles and Monterey, furnished frequent occasion for insurrection, and an enterprising leader with a score of followers had no difficulty in putting to flight three times the number of regular troops. These battles were marvellous displays of bluster and musketry with a minimum of fatalities. All concerned had a wholesome distaste for bullet wounds, and were accustomed to capitulate with a facility and cheer that proved them philosophers rather than heroes. California should have bred a Cervantes to record these burlesque encounters. One dominant motive is discernible throughout the complex history, — dislike of the unsympathetic Mexican officials and desire to secure the privilege of self-government.

The Centralist revolution at the City of Mexico (1834) was keenly resented in the northern states. A demand for home rule had been gaining ground, and the attempt to bring the provincials under more effective control and to impose direct taxes was met by armed resistance in all the northern provinces. In California the insurrection was led by Alvarado, a *hijo del pais*, and one of the ablest men in the country. His political ideal was George Washington, and he seems to have aspired to imitate the American revolt against arbitrary government. The parallel was not maintained. Once in possession at Monterey (1837), Alvarado effected a compromise with the Mexican government, and affairs were managed

much as before. He and his relatives, the Valléjos, arrogated to themselves all the perquisites of power, but the people had the satisfaction of being plundered by men born in California.

Secularization of the Missions

The secularization of missions of more than ten years standing was ordered by the Spanish Cortes in 1813. Although this was a project of the Revolutionists, the edict was confirmed by Ferdinand VII in 1820. The order was received with submission by the *padres* of Alta California, and they declared themselves ready to withdraw as soon as secular priests were provided to take charge of the neophytes. This being as yet impracticable, the Franciscans were permitted to remain. In 1825 the secularization of the missions was undertaken by the Mexican government. Aside from the large financial considerations involved, it was believed that the Indians would be sooner civilized if they were freed from their quasi bondage and given a property interest in the land they tilled.

The *padres* were even more disaffected toward the Mexican government than the laymen of California. The decree of 1829, exiling Spaniards from all Mexican states, had removed the ablest of the Franciscans. The salaries furnished by the royal government were withdrawn, the Pious Fund [106] which had been devoted to the conversion of the Indians was turned into the republican treasury, while a tithe of the mission revenue was required in support of the civil government. The limitless cattle ranges were

abridged to an allotment of fifteen square miles to each mission, and, most grievous innovation of all, Governor Echeandia proposed a gradual emancipation of the neophytes.[107] The *padres* opposed the plan, since it deprived them of their best laborers, and no Californian had much confidence in the ability of the mission Indians to take care of themselves. They had been so long under tutelage, the "nurslings" of friars, to use von Langsdorff's phrase, that they had lost the capacity for self-direction. The few men already set free from mission bondage had made unhappy use of their liberty. They would not work, but idled away their days like boys out of school. They drank and gambled and ran into debt, forfeiting their clothing and implements and even their land to sharpers who led them into temptation. The freed men became so obnoxious that the missionaries were requested to take them back, and the most incorrigible were condemned to hard labor on the wharf at Monterey. Sola thought this experiment in the civilization of the Indians a costly failure. The neophytes were "lazy, indolent, and disregardful of all authority, costing for half a century millions of *pesos* without having made in that time any recompense to the body politic.[108]

In 1833 the Federal Congress ordered that the missions of the two Californias be secularized. Curates were to supersede the *padres*, their salaries being paid out of the Pious Fund, and the mission chapel was to become the parish church. A convenient residence for the priest was provided, and the remaining buildings were to be utilized as schools,

workshops, court-house, etc. The land and cattle were to be distributed among the neophytes. This could hardly be regarded as confiscation, for the Franciscans had no titles to the mission lands, and the capital invested had been drawn from the Pious Fund and from the royal treasury. If labor constitutes the best claim to possession, the mission Indians were fairly entitled to the property.

The administration of this decree fell into the hands of Governor Figueroa, an able and patriotic man, who, having Aztec blood in his veins, was inclined to do justly by the natives. He had had some experience of emancipation, having established three Indian *pueblos* (San Dieguito, Las Flores, and San Juan Capistrano) in connection with the three southernmost missions. The object of Figueroa's regulations of 1834 was to render the emancipated neophytes self-supporting citizens. The mission lands were to be apportioned to the resident Indians, each adult man receiving a plough field from one hundred to four hundred *varas* square, according to the size of his family, a building lot in the *pueblo*, the right to pasture cattle in the commons, and his due quota of cattle, implements, and seed. One-half of the cattle and other movables belonging to each mission was to be divided among its neophytes; the remaining half was left "at the disposal of the supreme Federal government." These, together with the unoccupied land, gardens, orchards, and so forth were to be worked by the Indians under direction of a majordomo appointed by the governor, and the revenue was to be applied to the payment of the obligations

of the mission, the salary of the curate and majordomo, the expenses of public worship, the maintenance of police and schools. A commissioner was sent to each mission to take a detailed inventory of the property and a census of the population, to distribute among the neophytes their portion of the lands, cattle, etc., and to instruct them as to their rights and duties. Meantime the friars were forbidden to sell any produce or to kill more cattle than were needed for immediate subsistence.

The wealth of the missions had reached its climax in 1833. The live stock exceeded the possibility of numerical count, but was estimated by competent men at 424,000 cattle, 62,500 horses and mules, and 321,500 sheep, including a few hogs and goats. The annual grain crop was 122,500 *fanegas*, or double that amount in bushels. The wheat crops alone amounted to 120,000 bushels. The money income of the missions was believed to be great, but the *padres* endeavored to conceal the facts. Reckoning that one-fourth the herd was killed each year and that the value of hide and tallow would average $5 to $6 per animal, the sales from the missions herds alone must have brought in between $500,000 and $600,000 in the year 1833. The *padres*, moreover, had an assured labor force in their thirty thousand neophytes. At San Gabriel, the richest establishment in the two Californias, there were three thousand neophytes, 105,000 cattle, 40,000 sheep, 20,000 horses, and the annual grain crop exceeded 40,000 bushels. Two grist-mills and extensive workshops were kept busy. The vineyards, olives, and orange

orchards more than supplied the needs of the fathers, while a ship was despatched to San Blas every year laden with olive oil, jute, and linen, and another to Lima with a cargo of soap and tallow. To the harbor of San Pedro and the "droghers," the Indians carted each year 35,000 hides. In the storehouse belonging to San Gabriel were $40,000 worth of European goods. At the beautiful mission of San Luis Rey there were 100,000 sheep and 50,000 cattle and horses, and the thirty-five hundred Indians were employed in well-developed industries, — blacksmith shops, tanneries, soap-works, distilleries, salt-works, woollen, cotton, and jute factories. Such an industrial centre may fitly be compared with a monastic establishment of mediæval Europe or with Hampton Institute. It might have been as productive for its beneficiaries but for two handicaps — the backward character of the Coast Indians and the despotic nature of the Franciscan discipline which thwarted individual development and rendered the neophyte incapable of self-direction.

The result of the law of 1834 was far from consistent with Figueroa's admirable plan. Notwithstanding the prohibition, a wholesale slaughter of cattle was begun for the purpose of converting the chief wealth of the missions into cash. One hundred thousand head were killed in a single year (1834), and the proceeds from the sale of hides and tallow was reckoned at $1,000,000. The wastes of this horrible *matanza* were enormous, and the influence of the defiance of law reacted to the injury of the *padres*. Moreover, the neophytes were quite unequal

San Carlos Mission on Carmel River, 1830.

Mission of San Luis Rey, the Most Beautiful in California, 1841.

to the responsibilities thrust so suddenly upon them. Freedom from restraint gave opportunity for idleness and vice. Portilla, the commissioner of San Luis Rey, reported that his people refused to work in the common fields, neglected even their own crops, and wandered away to the mountains with their horses and mules, after having killed the cattle assigned to them. The improvidence of the Indians soon made it necessary to forbid them to sell or mortgage land or cattle and to place them under the tutelage of major-domos. In 1836, Governor Chico ordered that every Indian found absent from his *pueblo* without a license should be arrested and sentenced to labor on the public works.

The determination of the Franciscans to save something from the wreck of their vast possessions and the incompetence of the Indians were in a large measure responsible for the ruin of the mission industries; but the ultimate failure of the scheme of secularization was due to the unscrupulous greed of the commissioners. Figueroa himself was free from blame, but few of his agents neglected the opportunity to enrich themselves out of this tempting spoil. By the sale of hides, tallow, wool and other products, by sequestering cattle, horses, and tools, by contracting debts in the name of the mission, a shrewd administrator might accumulate a fortune at the expense of his trust. No one of the twenty-one missions escaped this systematic looting. "A few years sufficed to strip the establishments of everything of value and leave the Indians, who were in contemplation of law the beneficiaries of secularization, a shiv-

ering crowd of naked and, so to speak, homeless wanderers." [109]

Governor Alvarado undertook to stay the impending ruin and to conserve to California the accumulations of seventy years' missionary labor. In 1839 he issued regulations for the control of the administrators. An annual financial report was required, stating the revenues and obligations of each mission. No sales were to be made or debts contracted or paid without express authorization from the governor; no cattle were to be slaughtered except what were necessary for the support of the Indians. The horses and mules were not to be traded off for woollen goods, but the neophytes were to be induced to labor by moderate penalties, — notably in the manufacture of cloth, lest this important industry perish. A census of the emancipated Indians was required, both those occupied on land of their own and those employed by the administrator, and no white settlers or *gentiles* were to be admitted to the mission *pueblos* while the natives remained. Finally, the newer and less developed missions of the north, San Rafael, Sonoma, Carmel, Santa Cruz, Soledad, and San Juan Bautista, were brought under the immediate control of the government. In the following year, Alvarado deposed the administrators with their high salaries and indefinite powers, and appointed a *visitador general* to whom the immediate superintendent or major-domo should be responsible. He selected for this difficult task W. E. P. Hartnell, the English merchant of Monterey. Hartnell had been seventeen years in California, was a naturalized citizen,

and had travelled up and down the coast many times. He took a more disinterested view of the situation than did most Californians, and his report was a melancholy recital of the cruelty and corruption of the administrators. The Indians had been deprived of their lands, their cattle were stolen, and they themselves scattered and held in a bondage far more onerous than the tutelage exercised by the *padres*. Gangs of the wretched creatures were hired out to private persons, and the major-domo did not hesitate to punish the refractory with one hundred lashes. One of the worst offenders was Alvarado's own uncle, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who had managed to possess himself of the mission properties of San Rafael and Sonoma and, taking advantage of his powers as commander-in-chief of the army, ruled the country north of the bay like a feudal baron. The mission Indians whom he had taken over with the land and cattle were miserable thralls. Too dispirited to marry and bear children, they were rapidly perishing of want and disease. Vallejo, moreover, had won an unenviable notoriety by barbarous raids against the *gentiles* of the Sacramento Valley who were skilful horse thieves, and these punitive expeditions often brought back captive Indians. When Hartnell undertook to visit San Rafael, he was arrested by this lord of the border and held prisoner till he promised to forbear investigation. Pio Pico at San Luis Rey was no less defiant. The baffled *visitador general* resigned his office (1840), and Alvarado's reform project failed.

The testimony of foreigners is unanimous in condemnation of the ruin wrought. Sir Edward

Belcher, who visited San Francisco Bay in 1837, had great difficulty in securing supplies, since the missions of San José and Santa Clara had been "plundered by all parties" and were reduced to destitution. He states that the administrators had taken about two-thirds of the revenue for themselves and turned over but one-third to the government. The Indians, both Christian and *gentile*, were carrying off the horses and such other property as they thought desirable, to the mountains. De Mofras, attaché of the French embassy at Madrid and later at the City of Mexico, made a tour of the missions in 1841. He grievously lamented the ruin wrought by secularization. In the seven years of political control, the Indian population had been decimated, the cattle had been reduced to 28,220, the horses to 3800, the sheep to 31,600, and the yield of grain to 4000 *fanegas*. At San Diego, the Indian *rancheria* was extinct, and the *rancho del rey* had passed into private possession. The mission was crumbling to decay; the great olive orchard and vineyard, and a fine cotton plantation were untended for lack of laborers. The workshops and tanneries of San Luis Rey were empty. The famous fruit orchards of San Juan Capistrano had been appropriated by Señors Yorba and Nieto. At San Gabriel there were but five hundred Indians left, and the *ranchos* of San Bernardino, Chino, and Santa Anita had fallen into private hands. The Indian *pueblo* at San Fernando had been broken up by the brutality of the administrator, Valle; but Santa Barbara, which was the seat of the bishop, had not suffered so severely. The buildings of San

Vineyard planted by the Padres of San Gabriel.

Adobe Ranch House at San Gabriel.

Luis Obispo were in ruins, and all the able-bodied neophytes were fled to the mountains; yet the aged *padre* clung to the spot, refusing to take refuge in Santa Barbara, since he preferred to die at his post among the remnant of his people. Three years before, Father Sarría had perished of misery and famine at Nuestra Sonora de la Soledad, whereupon Governor Alvarado had driven off the remaining cattle and taken all the ironwork and even the tiles from the roof to build his own house. The land he had given to one of his friends in exchange for a ranch near Monterey. A popular saying, "the governor's cows calve three times a year," was a covert allusion to the source of Alvarado's wealth. Other public estates had been used to bolster up the governor's power. The *rancho del rey* belonging to the *presidio* of Monterey he gave to his brother-in-law, José Estrada. The property of San Juan Bautista had been made over to José Castro as the price of his support. General Vallejo had been allowed to devastate the missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano in order to fit out his ranch and the *pueblo* of Sonoma. Another Vallejo, while serving as administrator of Santa Clara, had grown wealthy in cattle and land.

Sir George Simpson, the governor of Hudson's Bay Company, condemned no less severely than de Mofras the wasteful destruction of the missions and the wreck of their industries. "In the missions, there were large flocks of sheep; but now there are scarcely any left, the Hudson's Bay Company having, last spring, experienced great difficulty in collecting about four thousand for its northern settlements. In

the missions, the wool used to be manufactured into coarse cloth; and it is, in fact, because the Californians are too lazy to weave or spin, — too lazy, I suspect, even to clip and wash the raw material, — that the sheep have been literally destroyed to make more room for the horned cattle. In the missions, soap and leather used to be made; but in such vulgar processes the Californians advance no farther than nature herself has advanced before them, excepting to put each animal's tallow in one place, and its hide in another. In the missions, the dairy formed a principal object of attention; but now, neither butter nor cheese, nor any preparation of milk whatever, is to be found in the province. In the missions, there were annually produced about 80,000 bushels of wheat and maize, the former, and perhaps part of the latter also, being converted into flour; but the present possessors of the soil do so little in the way of tilling the ground, that, when lying at Monterey, we sold to the government some barrels of flour at the famine rate of twenty-eight dollars, or nearly six pounds sterling, a sack, a price [110] which could not be considered as merely local, for the stuff was intended to victual the same schooner which, on our first arrival, we had seen at anchor in Whalers' Harbour. In the missions, beef was occasionally cured for exportation; but so miserably is the case now reversed, that, though meat enough to supply the fleets of England is annually either consumed by fire or left to the carrion birds, yet the authorities purchased from us, along with the flour just mentioned, some salted salmon as indispensable sea-stores for the one

paltry vessel which constituted the entire line of battle of the California navy. In the missions, a great deal of wine was grown, good enough to be sent for sale to Mexico; but, with the exception of what we got at the mission of Santa Barbara, the native wine that we tasted was such trash as nothing but politeness could have induced us to swallow." [111]

The destruction of the missions was consummated by Pio Pico, governor during the last two years of the Mexican administration. The ruined estates of the Franciscans were sold at public auction or leased to the highest bidder with small consideration for the remnant of the friars and neophytes.[112] The state realized only sixty-seven thousand *pesos* from the sale of the best lands in California, and the purchasers, newly arrived Americans for the most part, although the names Pico, Arguello, etc., figure in the list, had every reason to be satisfied with their bargain.[113]

The Cattle Kings

Already, in 1783, the governor of California had been empowered to grant lands to private persons. Such grants might be three leagues in extent, but must not overlap the lands appropriated by mission, *pueblo*, or *rancheria*. To secure title, the proprietor must prove that he had built a house of stone and collected two thousand cattle on his holding. Several such estates were acquired, notably in the neighborhood of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles; but no more than twenty grants were ratified during the Spanish régime. The Mexican administration was more liberal, yet there were but fifty private *ranchos* in Upper

California in 1830. The secularization of the missions attracted a crowd of adventurers who managed by one device or another to get possession of some portion of the spoil, and by 1840 there were six hundred of these *rancheros*. The forced sales authorized by Governor Pico added twenty-five large proprietors to this number.

Governor Simpson attributed the lack of enterprise among the Californians to the ease of acquiring wealth and absence of "the necessity for relying upon the steady and laborious use of the axe and the plough." The *rancheros* had the proverbial indolence of a pastoral people; with "horses to ride and beef to eat, with hides and tallow to exchange for such other supplies as they want," there was no incentive to labor. The Californians, moreover, came of a non-industrial stock. Spanish America with its sierras of silver was the asylum and paradise of idlers, and descendants of the men who looted the treasures of Mexico and Peru had succeeded to the spoil of the missions. The settlers sent in by the government to till the soil were little better, being, in the main, "superannuated troopers and retired office-holders." The *pueblos* were places of refuge for invalided soldiers and runaway sailors, "sinks of profligacy and riot," avoided by the better sort of Spaniards, who preferred the neighborhood of the *presidios*, notably Santa Barbara. "What a splendid country, whether we consider its internal resources or its commercial capabilities, to be thrown away upon its present possessors — on men who do not avail themselves of their natural advantages to a much higher degree than the

savages whom they have displaced, and who are likely to become less and less energetic from generation to generation and from year to year."

The *rancheros*, who succeeded to the lands and property of the *padres*, lived on their estates in ease and abundance. Their cattle throve on the nutritious *alfileria* [114] and wild oats, and needed no shelter nor winter feed. Unless the pastures failed with a dry season, the herd doubled every year, over and above the annual slaughter. Horses ran wild and multiplied so rapidly that they were occasionally driven across the hills into the San Joaquin Valley. The breed, according to de Mofras, had not degenerated and was well adapted to cattle-tending. They were as tall as the English race horse and had the speed and endurance of the Arabian. Good riding horses were accustomed to gallop from twelve to fifteen hours a day without food or rest, but they had no acquired gaits. Their owners were content to lasso them and break them to the saddle, turning them loose again when they were no longer needed. California horses were highly esteemed in New and Old Mexico, and on the frontiers of the United States; but the *rancheros* did not take the trouble to export them, leaving this profitable trade to the Indians and horse thieves of the Tulares. The redwood forests of the coast offered another promising export, but to fell the trees and deliver the timber at the sea-board exceeded the energy of the Californians. Gold had been discovered near San Fernando,[115] and it was prophesied that the mineral wealth of California would yet surpass the dreams of six-

teenth-century fables; but the mountains remained unexplored.

The staple export of California was still hides and tallow.[116] Hides served as the common currency of the country, and debts were paid in cattle. The *ranchero* got from $5 to $6 out of each animal killed; $2 for the hide and $3 to $4 for the tallow. Since one-fourth of the herd was killed each year, a man's income could be accurately reckoned from the number of cattle on his range. The consignment was sometimes paid for in silver, but more usually in goods, — calicoes, teas, wines, etc. Although his annual revenue amounted to several thousand dollars and the expenses of the business were almost nil, the *ranchero* was usually in debt to one or more of the hide factors. He bought so freely of the high-priced foreign commodities that he was not infrequently two or three years behind in his accounts. W. H. Davis, an experienced merchant of Yerba Buena, estimated the "drogher" trade for the twenty years of its continuance (1828–1848) at 1,068,000 hides exported and 62,500,000 pounds of tallow. The best years were those immediately following the secularization of the missions, when cattle were being slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands. The *rancheros* never equalled the *padres* in the number or quality of the hides furnished.

The merchants and the ship-owners who reaped large profits from the California trade were Americans and Englishmen and even Italians, but never Spaniards. For trade and manufactures the Californians had no gift, but all travellers agree that their skill in

riding, in lassoing and branding cattle, in bull and bear baiting, in music and dancing, was marvellous. Theirs was the pastoral age. They lived a free out-of-door life, with plenty of food, few books, and little learning, and were content to procure their clothing and other supplies from the Yankee ships that carried away the hides and tallow. No attempt was made to provide by domestic industries the cloth and leather goods that cost so dear, and even the salt used by these luxurious gentlemen was brought from Boston. The wheat crop was rapidly diminishing, because slight attention was given to tillage. The ground was merely scratched with a wooden plough, and the grain was sowed broadcast and covered by dragging a brush harrow over the field. The reapers still used the picturesque but ineffectual sickle, and when threshing time arrived, the straw was thrown into a shallow pit and the grain trodden out by a band of wild horses driven round and round by mounted *vaqueros*. The yield had fallen to thirty-five and forty bushels per acre. Some coarse flour was ground by a domestic grist-mill hardly less primitive than the Indian *metate*. It consisted of two flat stones, of which the nether one was stationary and the upper was turned by a revolving lever propelled by a donkey or long-suffering mule.[117]

Not the least of the economic crimes of the Californians was the wasteful destruction of the Indian population. There were in 1833 thirty thousand mission Indians, docile and teachable, sufficiently reconciled to the white occupation and admirably adapted to field labor and the care of cattle. Secu-

larization deprived them of their lands and left them dependent on the *rancheros*. If Figueroa's policy had been carried into execution and the natives had been given farms of their own and encouraged to sell their surplus products as an incentive to tillage, a peasant population might have been developed and some of the old-time arts and manufactures maintained. The Indians who were so fortunate as to become domestic servants in the houses of well-to-do Spaniards were often contented and even happy. Those who succeeded in getting and holding land have handed down to their descendants considerable property and the traditions of industry and Christian morality. But the major part were huddled together in wretched villages where they died of neglect and starvation. There were perhaps thirty thousand *gentile* Indians in the interior, of a mental and physical calibre superior to the natives of the coast; but they distrusted and hated the whites and, far from rendering any service, preyed upon the outlying *ranchos*, stealing their horses and, not infrequently, kidnapping women. Commander Wilkes, who visited San Francisco Bay in 1841, observed that the mission Indians had relapsed into barbarism. Half of them had been killed off by the smallpox epidemic of 1838, and many of the remainder, disheartened by the struggle to maintain themselves in the midst of the white man's civilization, had joined the wild tribes of the interior and were leading their raids upon the *ranchos*. Sir George Simpson compared the reckless cruelty of the *rancheros* with the traditional Indian policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, much to the advantage of

Vaqueros throwing the Lasso.

the latter. By a wise combination of firmness and justice, the Canadians had conserved the native races and utilized their skill as hunters. The Russians on Bodega Bay had been equally successful, for the Indians fled from the thraldom of the missions and the cruel mercies of the Valléjos to find food and fair wages at Fort Ross.

Seventy-five years of Spanish occupation had failed to develop the latent resources of California. The *hijos del pais* were content to subsist off the spontaneous products of their fertile soil and genial climate, taking no pains to improve upon nature, even allowing the orchards and vineyards and wheat fields cultivated by the *padres* to dwindle and perish from neglect.

PART II

EXPLORATION AND THE FUR TRADE

CHAPTER I

THE NORTHWEST COAST

Section I

Russian Explorers

Far into the eighteenth century, the viceroys of New Spain maintained their monopoly of the South Sea, the depredations of certain English pirates to the contrary notwithstanding; but the region north of the trade route between Mexico and the Philippines was beyond their ken. The first voyage of discovery into the north Pacific was undertaken at the behest of that far-sighted autocrat, Peter the Great. Speculations of European geographers concerning lands to the east of Japan had come to his ears, and he proposed that the Russians, who had recently come into possession of Kamchatka, should be first in the field. From his death-bed (1725) he issued a decree ordering that Vitus Behring, a Dane in his employ, should cross Siberia to the shores of the unknown sea, build there two ships and go in search of the fabled passage to the Atlantic and the still more fabulous mid-Pacific continent which the Portuguese maps named Gamaland. Otter hunters of the Kamchatka coast had seen driftwood floating in from unknown forests, the bloated bodies of whales struck by harpoons of unknown workmanship, and wooden canoes whose

makers did not belong to Asia; but the fog banks of that stormy sea and the hurricanes that drove down from the north had discouraged pursuit of these suggestive clews. Behring's first expedition consumed three years in crossing the seven thousand miles between St. Petersburg and Petropaulovski. The route ran by way of Irkutsk — the fur mart frequented by the traders of eastern Asia and merchants from Pekin — and Yakutsk — a frontier post on the Lena — to Okhotsk, Russia's only port on Pacific waters. Here boats were improvised to convey men and equipment to the rugged peninsula that divides the Sea of Okhotsk from the ocean. At Avacha Bay two sloops were built, spikes, ropes, and canvas having been brought from Russia for the purpose, and on July 9, 1728, the enterprise was launched. Sailing northward, Behring touched at an island lying about sixty-four degrees north latitude which he named St. Lawrence and, pressing on to the Arctic Circle, discovered that the coast bore continually to the northwest. He was forced to conclude that there was no new continent in that direction and no passage through to the Atlantic that would be practicable for merchantmen. Another voyage to the southeast was undertaken, but proved fruitless because of storms and adverse winds.

The following spring, Behring returned to St. Petersburg for new supplies, and early in 1733 he set out for Kamchatka equipped for a second expedition. This time the simple sea captain was accompanied by scientists who had conceived learned theories about the sea-to-sea passage and possessed maps of the continent

they intended to discover, and instructions from St. Petersburg ordained that nothing was to be undertaken without their approval. So handicapped, the journey across Siberia occupied seven years, and the two new ships, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, did not set sail from Petropaulovski till June, 1741. The scientists decreed that Gamaland lay to the southeast, and Behring, who had small faith in the new continent, steered southeast to the forty-sixth parallel, then, one theory being exploded, north to the Alaskan coast. There, at the sixtieth parallel, they came face to face with a lofty mountain range and named one glittering cone, soaring white above the huge mass of rock and snow, St. Elias. The scientists were eager to explore; but provisions were running low, the crew was stricken with scurvy, and the commander himself was under the depressing influence of that dread disease. Pausing only to fill the water casks, Behring ordered immediate return to Kamchatka. As they coasted along the labyrinth of islets and rock reefs now known as the Aleutian Islands, in hourly danger of shipwreck, the bravest were panic-smitten, and when at last the *St. Peter* was driven under the lea of a cliff-girt island and into a quiet harbor, the crew were for going ashore. They had lost all reckoning and could not know that Avacha Bay was but two hundred miles to the west, and here, in spite of Behring's protests, it was determined to winter. The chance for life on this wind-swept refuge was better than he had hoped. There was fresh water in abundance, and the rocks swarmed with animals unknown to contemporary

naturalists, — sea-cows, sea-lions, sea-otter, and seal. The first furnished nourishing food, and the skins of the smaller beasts enabled the men to protect themselves against the Arctic cold. There on the barren islet since called by his name, died Behring, the bravest and most unlucky of explorers, together with half his crew. The remnant of the castaways survived the winter, built a crazy boat out of the wreckage of the *St. Peter*, and found their way back to Kamchatka in the following spring. Chirikoff, commander of the *St. Paul*, had reached Petropaulovski in the autumn preceding. He had zigzagged over much the same course as Behring, having touched the coast of the mainland at the fifty-seventh parallel, and discovered Mt. Edgecombe and Norfolk Sound. Thus after long years of hardship and a reckless expenditure of money and human life, the ukase of the great Czar resulted in the addition of a vast subarctic waste to the Russian Empire.

Behring's men, returning to Petropaulovski in August, 1742, brought with them furs of the sea-otter, which they had used for coats and bedding, and found for them a ready market at $200 a pelt. The "sea-beaver" had been taken on the shores of Japan and Kamchatka, but it did not breed there; the catch was rapidly decreasing, and the fur was a luxury to the wealthy classes. Now that its winter haunts and breeding grounds were discovered, and the ease with which the animal might be caught in the kelp beds off the Aleutian Islands, the otter herds of the north Pacific became no less important to Russia than were the gold mines of Mexico and

Peru to Spain. The crown renounced its monopoly of the fur trade, and the opportunity was thrown open to all Russia's subjects, with the single reservation that one-tenth the skins taken must be surrendered to the customs officers. Thenceforth the fur trade was the shortest road to fortune for the adventurers of that wild and lawless frontier. Russian officers and sailors, Siberian exiles, Cossacks, Tartars, Kamchatkans, ventured their all in the otter hunt. Expenses and profits were divided among the crew, share and share alike, though some merchant usually furnished the supplies and goods for the Indian trade, stipulating for half the returns in payment. Ships were built in mad haste at Okhotsk, — the "sawed vessels," wrought of green timber brought down from the mountains, bound together with reindeer thongs, and caulked with clay and tallow. The cost of boat and outfit might be $30,000; but since the season's catch would sell for from $50,000 to $100,000, the venture was one in which men were willing to risk life and limb, and they made slight inquiry into the hazards. Scurvy, starvation, shipwreck, massacre, awaited half the adventurers, yet among the rude and reckless population of eastern Asia, there were always men to fill the places of the lost. Within five years after the discovery, there were seventy-seven of these profit-sharing companies engaged in catching sea-otter on the storm-beaten reefs of the Aleutian Islands. Thereafter the government had no need to finance exploring expeditions to the Pacific, for the frail craft of the fur traders penetrated every sound and inlet.

The hunt was carried on with utter disregard of everything but immediate profit. Driven in by wind and tide, the helpless animals were clubbed to death in shallow water or, if found in the open sea, the herd was surrounded by a cordon of boats, and the otter were speared as they came to the surface to breathe. The aid of the Aleuts was enlisted by the lure of iron bars or cheap trinkets of civilization, and since they went to the hunt by hundreds and thousands under the oversight of a handful of white men, their good faith was secured by hostages—women and children left in care of the ship's guard. The trust was often abused, for the whites were lawless and brutal men with small fear of retribution from God or the Czar. If the hunt was unsuccessful, or if a Russian met with death, the hostages were not infrequently murdered. Resistance on the part of the men was sternly dealt with, and whole villages were not infrequently visited with fire and sword. At last the desperate Aleuts made a concerted effort to destroy the invader. In the summer of 1761, three crews touching on the island of Unalaska were massacred or harried to death among the rocks and caves of the mountainous interior. The Russian government sent a punitive expedition which reduced the natives to subjection, and for the first time an effort was made to regulate the traffic. No ship might sail to the islands without a license, and the Indians must be treated with justice. But such regulations were useless since they could not be enforced. The labor of the natives continued to be mercilessly exploited, and they were forced to

undergo hardships and to run risks that meant rapid extermination. In 1792, for example, the hunting parties were overtaken by storm, and out of seven hundred *bidarkas*[1] and fourteen hundred Aleuts, only thirty *bidarkas* and sixty men returned. Von Langsdorff, the physician of Krusenstern's ship, described conditions as he saw them in 1804, as worse than slavery. "In the countries that I have seen, where negro slaves are employed in the labour, great care is taken to feed them well, and keep them in health, since they must be purchased at a high price; but the case is otherwise here. The poor, vanquished, and enslaved Aleutians are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and perpetually thrown into situations where their lives are in danger; they are deprived of all their property, and are commonly governed by Promüschleniks, who are for the most part criminals from Siberia: under all these circumstances the depopulation must advance rapidly. Scarcely any of the native Aleutians are to be seen, excepting superannuated old men, with women and children: the men capable of working are sent continually on hunting parties for sea-otters, and are thus separated from their families for months together."[2] On the farm at Kodiak, the wretched natives were obliged to draw the plough in lieu of oxen.

Even less mercy was shown to the furred prey. Indiscriminate slaughter of male and female, young and old, depleted one fishing ground after another so that new and remoter regions must be found. The headquarters were always moving farther east and south, from Behring Island to Unalaska, from Unalaska to Kodiak, and from Kodiak to Sitka;

but the devastation went on unchecked, while the Chinese market was flooded with furs, and prices fell to a ruinous level. Finally, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, two masterful spirits, Shelikoff and Baranof, undertook to combine the chief rivals into one great company and so to regulate the catch. With the aid of Chamberlain de Resanoff, a nobleman with influence at court, a charter was secured for the Russian-American Company (1799), giving the incorporators monopoly of the trade in the Pacific above fifty-five degrees north latitude, the limit of Russian exploration. The year following, a trading post was built on Norfolk Sound — called Sitka from the native tribe — and Baranof was appointed governor with powers over his motley force extending to life and death. A supply ship, the *Neva*, was despatched round the Horn in 1804 under the command of Krusenstern, with Count de Resanoff on board in the capacity of plenipotentiary. The post had been destroyed in 1802, and the reënforcement arrived just in time to avert a second massacre of the garrison. The Kolosh Indians of the Alaskan coast were a finer race, physically and mentally, than the Aleuts and not so easily reduced to the white man's service. They hated the enslaved islanders hardly less than they feared the Russians, and they determined to rid their land of both. Fortunately for Baranof's scheme, their well-devised ambush was betrayed and their palisaded fort destroyed by the guns of the *Neva*. A Russian fortification was immediately built on the ruins of the village and christened New Archangel.

Finding supplies short at Sitka and the agricultural resources of the region dubious, de Resanoff determined to have resort to the Spanish missions made known to Baranof by the Boston fur traders, O'Cain and Winship. He sailed to San Francisco Bay and succeeded in purchasing from San José a quantity of provisions, but his attempt to negotiate a regular exchange of products was thwarted by the exclusive commercial policy of Spain. Von Langsdorff thought that the profits from such a trade could never be great, since the manufactured goods required in California must be brought from Europe, and he therefore proposed that a Russian settlement be established at some point on this coast, where soil and climate were suited to the raising of cattle and where sea-otters might be taken sufficient to meet all the expenses involved and pay a handsome profit beside.[3] Six years later, Baranof carried out the California project by the establishment of a trading post at Bodega Bay, a deep cove to the north of Point Reyes. There a palisaded fort was built (1813), timber being cut from the heavy forests of the surrounding hills. Russian soldiers, Finnish artisans, and Kodiak hunters were imported for the service of the post, and a considerable number of domesticated Indians were induced by the prospect of money wages and fair treatment to work the land in the vicinity.

The harvest of furs in this unexploited region was a rich one. Von Langsdorff had noted that seal was abundant and that "the valuable sea-otter was swimming in numbers about the bay, nearly un-

heeded." [4] The Russians were able to spear from seven to eight hundred otters per week in the creeks and inlets of San Francisco Bay, while at the hunting station on the Farallones, eighty thousand skins were secured in one season. Foreigners were prohibited by Spanish law from taking sea-otter within thirty leagues of the coast, but this obstacle was overcome by a friendly arrangement with the *commandante*. For a time the shiploads of grain, jerked beef, and tallow sent to the northern posts were purchased from the missions, payment being made in silver or in European goods; but before many years had passed, a farm and stock ranch were installed on the San Sebastian River (where Santa Rosa now lies) which furnished food in abundance for all the Russian settlements. In 1820 a larger post, known to the Spaniards as Fort Ross, was built about twenty miles up the coast. A strong palisade, eighteen feet high, enclosed the soldiers' quarters, two octangular block houses frowned upon intruders, and four brass howitzers stood guard at the gate. Fort Ross was far more formidable than any Spanish *presidio* and was regarded by the Californians as a real menace. The device of establishing two missions to the north of San Francisco Bay was adopted. San Rafael was founded on San Pablo Bay (1817) and San Francisco Solano in the fertile Sonoma Valley (1823).

For the next twenty years, the operations of the Russian-American Fur Company extended from Santa Barbara and the Farallones to Unalaska and the Commander Islands, a wild and stormy stretch

Fort Ross in 1828.

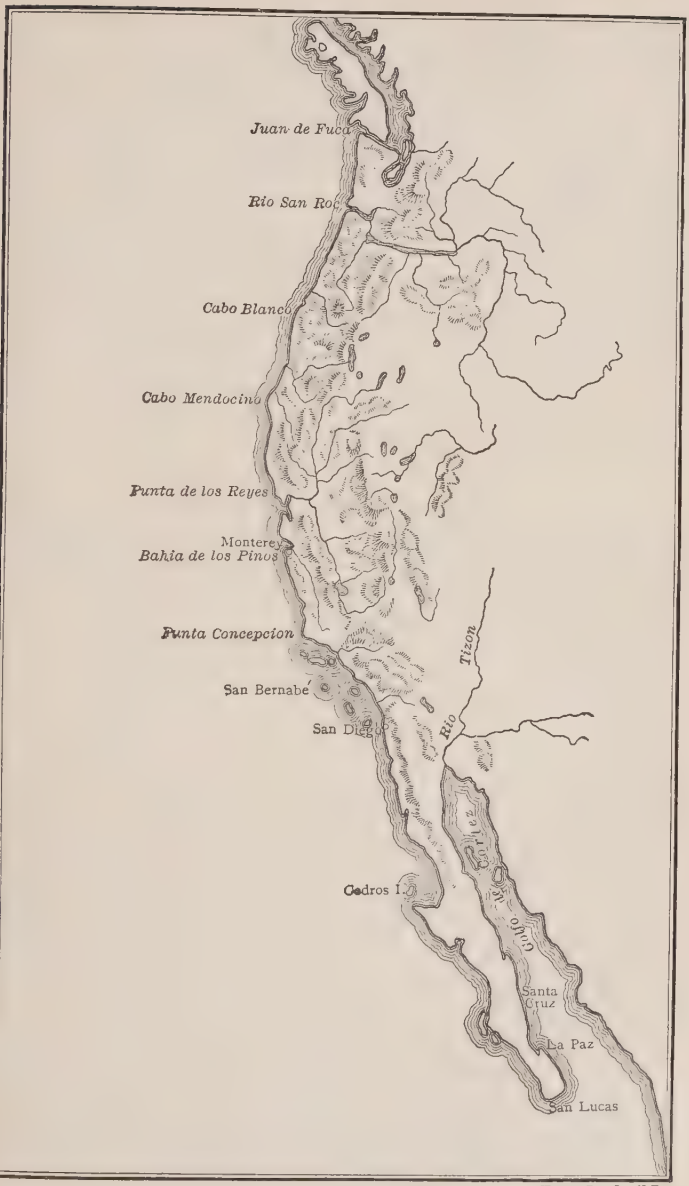
of coast, four thousand miles in extent. Thirty fortified posts guarded its property, and twelve vessels were engaged in transporting furs and supplies. Russians were excluded from Chinese ports, so the furs collected at the various stations were conveyed to Okhotsk, whence they were carried overland by dog sledge and camel train to Irkutsk, where the Chinese merchants loaded the precious bales on camel trains for Pekin. The tea and silks and muslins for which the furs were exchanged were loaded on pack animals and sent to Nishni-Novgorod, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Sitka, the centre of this trade, was the principal port on the northwest coast. Eight hundred white families were established there, and the dark-skinned servitors numbered thousands. Its beautiful church was furnished with gifts from the stockholders and others of the Russian nobility. In its shipyard, sea-going vessels were built, while its bell-foundry cast chimes for the missions of California and Mexico. The settlement at Bodega was hardly less imposing. Lieutenant Slacum of the United States navy visited the post in 1839 and found it well maintained. Four hundred men were in the employ of the company, — sixty Russians, eighty Kodiaks, and two hundred and sixty native Indians. There were fifteen hundred head of cattle, eight hundred horses, five hundred sheep, and three hundred hogs on the ranch in charge of Indian herdsmen, and the yield of the wheat fields tended by these unprotesting laborers was seventy-two hundred bushels. Two ships came annually from Sitka for the grain, tallow,

and dried beef without which the northern settlements could not have been fed; but the harvest of furs was exhausted. The otter herds of California had been exploited in the same reckless fashion that had reduced the northern fisheries. The catch had fallen off to one hundred skins per year, and, since the fur was inferior to that taken in Arctic waters and not worth carrying to China, the skins were sent to the City of Mexico and sold for from $60 to $70 each. There was no longer any profit in the otter hunt. Land otter were to be had, and beaver and deer, but this involved trapping expeditions into the interior, and the pelts would bring no more than $2, $3, and $4 apiece. By 1840 the Russian-American Fur Company was ready to withdraw from California, and offered its property for sale to the highest bidder.

Section II

Spanish Explorers

It was Bucareli, the able viceroy of Charles III, who renewed the endeavor to discover the Straits of Anian and so to forestall Russian aggression on the northwest coast. In 1773 he despatched an exploring expedition under Perez with instructions not to turn back till the sixtieth parallel had been attained. The prevailing northwest winds, so favorable to the Siberian trade, rendered approach from the south difficult. Baffled by head winds, Perez turned back at 54° 40′; but not before he had discovered a sheltered C-shaped bay which he called



Williams Eng. Co., N.Y.

SPANISH EXPLORATION ALONG THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA.

San Lorenzo (Nootka Sound) where the natives were eager to trade excellent otter skins for the veriest trifles. The following year two vessels under Bruno de Haceta and Bodega y Quadra were despatched in the hope of larger results. Haceta rounded Cape Mendocino and, landing, took possession in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but he failed to find de Fuca's strait. On the return voyage, he approached the coast in latitude 46° 10′, and anchored in a roadstead where a strong offshore current rendered his ship unmanageable. "These currents and eddies of the water caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea. Had I not been certain of the latitude of this bay, I might easily have believed it to be the passage discovered by Juan de Fuca, in 1592, which is placed on the charts between the 47th and the 48th degrees." [5] Haceta's crew was prostrated with scurvy, so that he had not force enough to lower and lift the anchor or to man a long-boat, and he was obliged to forego farther investigation; but his description of the muddy tide, the bar, and the two headlands corresponds so exactly to the geography of the region that there can be no reasonable doubt that he had hit upon the mouth of the Columbia. On Spanish maps of the day, the entrance is indicated as Haceta's Inlet, and the hypothetical river is called San Roc.

Meantime Bodega y Quadra in the companion vessel had reached Mt. Edgecombe (1775) and the land-locked harbor already known to the Russians as Sitka. In a subsequent voyage (1779) this same

intrepid mariner reached the sixty-first degree, sighted Mt. St. Elias, and learned from the Indians of the Russian trading posts, but encountered no foe. Unhappily for Spanish prestige, Bucareli's successors failed to follow up these clews. The northern coasts were bleak and stormy, and seal fishing, though remunerative, had small attraction for men of southern blood. In the endeavor to conceal these discoveries lest they profit her enemies, the government of Spain unwittingly consigned the really remarkable achievements of her explorers to oblivion.[6]

Section III

English Explorers

Far different was the response accorded to the achievements of British explorers. In the year following Haceta's voyage, the Royal Geographical Society sent Captain James Cook, already famous for his exploration of the South Sea, to rediscover Drake's Bay in the hope of substantiating Britain's shadowy claim to New Albion, and thence to push north until he came upon the open route to the Atlantic that Drake had sought in vain.[7] Sailing from London in midsummer of 1776, his two stout ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, forged across the Atlantic and round the Horn and over the Pacific and so hit upon the group of tropic islands named by Cook for Lord Sandwich.

Recruiting their supplies of food and water at this siren's haven of wave-tossed mariners, they sailed eastward to California. At 40° 33′, the latitude of

Drake's landfall, they descried the line of cliffs called by the Spaniards Cabo Mendocino; but the ships were driven out to sea by a hurricane of hail and snow. Land was sighted again eight degrees farther north (Cape Flattery), but again they were driven off by perverse winds. The exasperated explorer recorded his conviction that no such opening as Juan de Fuca's strait had ever existed. Pressing on to the north, Cook was soon rewarded by a discovery not in his instructions, but destined to be far more profitable to English merchants than the much-sought sea-to-sea channel could have been. Becalmed off a mountain-girt coast, the vessels came to anchor in Perez' C-shaped harbor (named by Cook King George's Sound), and there a commercial El Dorado was disclosed. Hundreds of shapely wooden canoes came out to visit the ships, whose painted occupants were eager to barter their otter skin clothing for the merest trifles (a sixpenny knife would buy a skin worth $100), and a stock of furs was laid in that later sold in China for $10,000. Here the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* were repaired and supplies of wood and water taken on. Toward the end of April, 1777, the expedition was again moving north. Skirting the chain of islands that guarded the secret he hoped to penetrate, Cook gazed astonished upon snow-capped mountains that loomed higher and higher as they approached the Arctic Circle. The Fairweather Range and Mt. St. Elias seemed to bar the way to the eastward, but still the dauntless explorer pushed on. The estuary called by geographers Cook's

Inlet gave promise of penetrating the continent, but it proved to be an *impasse,* and Turnagain Arm marks the abandonment of this clew. The stanch British ships threaded the Aleutian Islands, rounded Cape Prince of Wales, sighted East Cape, and so north to Icy Cape where Cook finally abandoned his quest. It was hazardous to battle farther against deadly cold in pursuit of a geographers' dream. The exploration of the Arctic Ocean having been abandoned, Cook returned to the "Paradise of the Pacific" in January, 1779, and there the great explorer met his death at the hands of the natives. The chivalrous Englishman gave the name of Behring to the strait discovered by the Russian explorer fifty years before.

Cook's geographical discoveries along our northwest coast were of minor importance since he failed to find De Fuca's strait or Haceta's river, but his report of the wealth of furs to be had from the Indians set on foot a movement that was destined to have vast consequences. The nearest and most profitable market was the Orient, but here the East India Company held an undisputed monopoly which Englishmen might evade only by sailing under a foreign flag. The first ship sent out from London (Captain James Hanna, 1780) carried Portuguese colors, and her success was such as to encourage farther ventures. In 1785, the King George's Sound Company was chartered for the Nootka trade and sent out two vessels under Captains Portland and Dixon, who explored the islands to the north and secured a load of furs but, being denied access to

Chinese ports, reaped no great profit. The East India Company sent out a ship in 1781 and again in 1788, under Captain Robert Meares. On his second voyage, Captain Meares sailed into the strait between Vancouver Island and the Olympic Range and gave the long-sought channel the name of its traditional discoverer. Hoping to find Haceta's river, Meares neared the coast again at latitude 46° 10′, but he was discouraged from entering the promising inlet by a line of huge breakers that stretched from headland to headland. He concluded that San Roc was a myth,[8] and contented himself with naming the promontory Cape Disappointment and the baffling roadstead of tempestuous water, Deception Bay.

Jealous of these new interlopers, the Spanish viceroy sent out a vessel (1788) under orders to collect a cargo of furs and carry them to Canton; but this official enterprise was not a success, for the sale of peltry did not cover the costs of the expedition. The next year Martinez and de Haro were commissioned to explore the northern coasts and to determine on sites suited for Spanish colonies. They found the Russians strongly intrenched on the northern islands, and a protest against these encroachments was addressed to St. Petersburg, but with no effect. When they arrived at Perez's landlocked harbor, the Spanish envoys found even more formidable competitors in control. Two vessels flying the Portuguese flag, but financed by British capital, and two American sloops, the *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington*, lay at anchor in the sheltered

bay, and two English ships, sent out from Macao by Meares and equipped with materials to build a trading post at Nootka Sound, were soon added to the array of foreign traders. Meares' enterprise was overt trespass, and Martinez arrested the British officers and confiscated their cargoes, pending a final settlement of the questions at issue. An international embroglio was averted by the Nootka Convention (1790), wherein the right of Englishmen and Spaniards to navigate the Pacific, fish in Arctic waters, and trade with the Coast Indians was fully recognized; but neither power was to found colonies north of Spain's northernmost settlement nor to claim sovereign rights. Vancouver met Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commissioner, at Nootka Sound in the summer of 1792, but they failed to reach an agreement as to the property rights in question. All difficulties were finally adjudicated in the treaty of 1794.

At this time there were eight American vessels [9] engaged in the fur trade on the northwest coast, but since they appeared to have no settlement in view, there was no interference. The right of citizens of the United States to trade in these waters was recognized in the treaty negotiated with Spain in 1795, and Nootka became a neutral port.

Section IV

The Americans

Ledyard's *Journal of Cook's Last Voyage* was printed at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1783.[10] It found eager readers. The War of the Revolution at an

end and independence achieved, American merchants were under no obligation to respect the East India Company's monopoly and might avail themselves of the profitable trade between China and the northwest coast. A group of Boston merchants, Charles Bulfinch at their head, formed a partnership, with a capital of $50,000, and sent out two vessels round the Horn to this far-away wilderness. The *Columbia*, a full-rigged two-decker of two hundred and twelve tons, was commanded by Captain John Kendrick, a retired naval officer. The *Lady Washington*, a sloop of ninety tons, had a much younger man, Robert Gray, for captain. The commanders had no experience of Pacific waters, but Woodruff, first mate of the *Columbia*, had been to Alaska with Cook.

The ships sailed from Boston the first of October, 1787, in abundant time to make the Straits of Magellan during the Antarctic summer; but Kendrick timidly delayed at Cape Verde until the stormy season set in, and the vessels had a rough experience rounding the Horn. In the Pacific, new dangers awaited them. The jealousy of the Spanish government was evidenced in the orders given to the *commandante* at San Francisco to stop the American vessels, should they enter the harbor, and to arrest the officers and crew. Kendrick did put into Juan Fernandez for repairs and fresh provisions. The governor of the islands was afterward severely reprimanded by the viceroy of Chili for rendering aid to the invader of the South Seas. Meantime Gray pushed ahead toward the goal of their enterprise. He first sighted the coast of North America at Cape Mendocino,

August 2, 1788. Twelve days' run up the cliff-girt shore brought him to Tillamook Bay, where the scurvy-infected crew was given a few days' respite, and fresh food was laid in. A treacherous onslaught from the Indians gave to this inlet the ominous name of Murderers' Bay. The sloop reached Nootka Sound on September 17, 1788, well-nigh a year after her departure from Boston, only to find that British traders had got in ahead. Two English ships under Captain Meares and Douglas were anchored in the harbor and already well loaded with furs, while a third vessel, the *Northwest America*,[11] was rising from the stocks. The Yankees were received with much courtesy by the Englishmen, and there was great show of hospitality; but they were regarded as interlopers, none the less, and Captain Meares resorted to all the tricks of the trade in the endeavor to dishearten his unwelcome rival. Skins were scarce, he said, and their quality much overrated; the Indians moreover were unfriendly and treacherous. Gray assisted in the launching of the *Northwest America* and furnished some much needed supplies for the China voyage; but he indicated quite clearly his determination of sticking to his task. Toward the end of October, the British vessels sailed for Hongkong, and the Americans were left to their own devices. The *Columbia* had arrived at last, battered by hurricanes and ravaged by scurvy, and the two vessels spent the winter of 1788–1789, cruising from one Indian village to another in the purchase of furs. The Americans became thoroughly familiar with the islands from the

Strait of Juan de Fuca to Dixon Entrance and the Portland Canal. The natives knew nothing of the market values of Europe and Asia, and astonishing bargains could be driven; *e.g.* two hundred otter skins, worth $8000, were bought for a rusty iron chisel. Having accumulated a large stock of furs, the captains sailed for China (July 30, 1789), there to exchange this cargo for tea, a commodity even more salable in New England. Kendrick returned to Nootka Sound in the *Lady Washington*, while the *Columbia* began the homeward voyage across the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope. On August 11, 1790, she dropped down Boston Harbor, and was received with great rejoicing. Governor Hancock gave a public reception to the commander of the first American vessel to circumnavigate the globe.

The voyage of fifty thousand miles, though a glorious achievement, was financially unprofitable, and several of the partners withdrew their capital; but Bulfinch was not discouraged. Under Gray's command the gains would not be eaten up in needless delays, and if he could succeed in getting to Hongkong before the English, he could forestall a glut of the market. The *Columbia* was again fitted out, and within six weeks of her arrival in Boston set sail for the northwest coast. Only eight months were consumed in the outward voyage, and Gray arrived at Nootka (June 5, 1791), bent on prosecuting a vigorous campaign. Having experienced some rough treatment at the hands of Meares, the Nootkans had grown suspicious, and

they now gathered courage to attack the white man's floating house. A strong body of warriors boarded the *Lady Washington* and got possession of the powder magazine, and but for Kendrick's quickness and resolution, ship and crew would have been blown to atoms. It was deemed wise therefore to build a log fort for the protection of men and furs. At Clayoquot (called Hancock Point by Gray) a little to the south of Nootka, barracks were erected, and a stout palisade, furnished with loopholes and surmounted by two cannon, frowned defiance upon all comers. They built this same winter (1791–1792) a sloop, the *Adventure*, out of timber cut from the best spruce forests in the world.

Gray and Kendrick were destined to be not mere fur traders but discoverers as well. Cruising the channels back of Nootka, Kendrick found his way into the archipelago, later named Puget Sound, and sailed through de Fuca's strait back to Nootka again, proving the traders' headquarters to be placed on an island. What we know as Vancouver Island was called Washington Island by the fur traders, in honor of the brave little vessel in which Kendrick made this cruise. Gray, meantime, was sailing south along the coast in search of new tribes less sophisticated in the price of furs. Near the forty-sixth parallel he sighted Cape Disappointment and directly after encountered a current so strong as to carry his vessel out to sea. For nine days he battled with wind and tide, and not till May 11 did he discover the channel through the breakers. Once over the bar, there opened up before his delighted eyes a

large river of fresh water flowing swiftly between forested shores.[12] He sailed up the channel some thirty miles, trading with the natives who followed in canoes, and then, convinced that this was the long-sought river, named it, after the first ship that had ploughed its current, the *Columbia*. Being a loyal son of Massachusetts, Gray renamed the north headland Cape Hancock and the south, Adams Point. On May 20, the *Columbia* recrossed the bar and returned to Nootka for the summer's trade. There Gray showed to the Spanish commander a sketch of the bay and the river channel above. In October he sailed for Canton, where his season's catch was sold to good advantage. In July of 1793, Gray and his good ship were once more in Boston Harbor, but no ovation was given him. Few men understood the significance of his discovery, and the government was in no position to follow up the claim thus established. The discoverer of the River of the West died, poor and unknown, some time between 1806 and 1809, years in which the value of his achievement should have been recognized.

In this same year, a British squadron was sent to the northwest coast to enforce the terms of the Nootka Convention. Captain George Vancouver, the commander, who had some knowledge of the Pacific since he served as midshipman on Cook's third voyage, was instructed to "acquire information as to the nature of any water passage which might serve as a channel of communication between that side of America and the territories on the Atlantic

side occupied by British subjects," *e.g.* "the supposed strait of Juan de Fuca." Arriving off Cape Disappointment (April 27, 1792) Vancouver noted the current of "river-colored water"; but having Meares' experience in mind and convinced that no battleship should venture into that stretch of boiling breakers, he concluded that the discoloration was caused by some small streams falling into the bay, and so withdrew. "Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the N. W. being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to our examination of the coast." [13] Next day the British commander hailed the *Columbia*, and learned from Captain Gray that he had been "off the mouth of a river in the latitude of 46° 10′, where the outlet, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days." [14] "This," concludes Vancouver, "was, probably, the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the 27th; and was, apparently, inaccessible not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." The *Discovery* and the *Chatham* pursued their northward course, while Gray turned south to have another try at that difficult passage. His persistence was rewarded as we have seen.

Vancouver devoted the summer of 1792 to the exploration of the network of sounds and passages already disclosed by the operations of the fur traders. He was bent on proving that the northwest passage was a myth, and this he did with English thoroughness. His officers traced the coast in all its involu-

tions with such detail and exactness that their charts may still be used. They saw and named Mt. Baker, as it soared, a white cone without visible base, far above the wooded shores of the Gulf of Georgia, and they exhausted the roll of the ship's officers in the designation of the various geographical features noted. At Point Possession, Vancouver landed his crews and with due ceremony claimed the country from New Albion to the Strait of Juan de Fuca for Great Britain (June 4, 1792). Not till he reached Nootka Sound did he learn that the *Columbia* had crossed that tumultuous line of breakers at 46° 10′ and sailed up a great river, and not till mid-October did he undertake to verify Gray's chart of the discovery. On October 21, Vancouver was again off Cape Disappointment and again the ominous line of breakers deterred him from risking an entrance with the *Discovery*. The smaller ship *Chatham* actually rounded the bar and managed an anchorage in the inner harbor; but Vancouver sailed away to the safe port of San Francisco, leaving Lieutenant Broughton to complete the survey. The commander justified his withdrawal with characteristic caution. "My former opinion of this port being inaccessible to vessels of our burthen was now fully confirmed, with this exception, that in very fine weather, with moderate winds, and a smooth sea, vessels not exceeding four hundred tons might, so far as we were enabled to judge, gain admittance." [15] When the *Chatham* rejoined the *Discovery* in San Francisco Bay a month later, Vancouver reluctantly accepted the fact that Broughton had proven the despised

river navigable for at least one hundred miles above its *debouchement*. The persistent lieutenant had made his way up the river in a launch, only turning back when his week's supply of provisions was exhausted. He saw and named Mts. Hood, St. Helen, and Rainier, and reached the wooded knoll called Point Vancouver. Here the Indians indicated in sign language that farther up the river was a fall of water that would prevent the boats from passing. Even Broughton thought the river unpromising, and so, estimating its possibilities as a sea to sea channel, it doubtless was. He contented himself with taking possession of the adjacent territory in the name of His Britannic Majesty, "having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before."[1] It was Broughton's theory that Gray had not penetrated to fresh water; but he considerately named the outer harbor Gray's Bay, and accepted the name given the river by the Yankee skipper.

When Broughton returned to the *Chatham*, he found an American schooner rid ng at anchor within the capes, the *Jenny* from Bristol, Rhode Island, and he gratefully followed her lead to the open sea. The adventurous little craft was the first of a long series of Yankee vessels whose safe entry and exit over the dreaded bar was to belie Vancouver's extraordinary caution. For twenty years thereafter New England merchants enjoyed the lion's share of the fur trade between the northwest coast and China. Nootka Sound and the Columbia River were visited by some forty American vessels annually, and so

preëminent was Massachusetts in this commerce that all white men came to be known among the Indians as "Bostons."

From 1796 to 1814, the maritime energies of England, Spain, and France being absorbed in the Napoleonic wars, Yankee whalers and fur traders enjoyed the lion's share of Pacific commerce. Vessels were fitted out in New York or Boston or New Bedford with goods suited for the Indian market. Setting out in August or September, they rounded the Horn during the Antarctic summer and, stopping at the Sandwich Islands for fresh supplies of food and water, arrived off the Columbia in the following spring. The summer was spent in collecting furs. If the coasting trip was successful, the vessel put off before the autumn rains set in, stopped again at the Sandwich Islands to make good any deficiencies in her cargo by a supply of sandalwood, and so on across the Pacific to China. The valuable commodities secured from the Coast Indians and the Hawaiians for scraps of old iron and tawdry finery were disposed of in the Canton market for many times their purchase price. Bales of tea and silks and muslins were there taken aboard, and the sea-worn ship set out for home with a cargo that might net one thousand per cent on the original costs. The commerce had its heavy risks. Many a brave ship was wrecked in Magellan Straits or on some coral reef in the South Seas. The Coast Indians coveted the white man's goods and had little fear of reprisals. More than one vessel was looted and her crew massacred as she lay at anchor surrounded by native

canoes. The fate of the ship *Boston* (1803) of whose crew only two men survived, has been graphically told by her armorer, John R. Jewitt.[17] Notwithstanding such disasters, Yankee skippers pursued the trade with zeal and success, rejoicing in its wild hazards; but the business was soon demoralized by unscrupulous competition. Rival traders vied with one another in offering whiskey and firearms, and the savages grew bold and quarrelsome. The price of the furs advanced on the fishing grounds and declined in China till the margin of profit disappeared. Two brothers, Captain Nathan and Jonathan Winship, contracted with the Russian-American Fur Company (1804) to take sea-otter on the coast north of the Spanish settlements. Fifty *bidarkas* and one hundred Aleuts were furnished them and the furs were to be turned over at Sitka at half the Canton price. These same enterprising Yankees projected a base of operations on the Columbia. Their post at Oak Point and the plantation immediately about was carried away by a summer flood, but the notion was entirely practical.

The northwest coast was a no-man's land where might made right and where the first comer was free to exploit Indian tribes and fur-bearing animals at will. Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States had established defensible claims to the fur country, but no power cared to go to war in behalf of so remote a possession.

CHAPTER II

THE OVERLAND SEARCH FOR THE WESTERN SEA

Section I

French Explorers

The fur traders of Montreal were no less zealous than the Jesuit missionaries for the exploration of the region drained by the St. Lawrence and the conciliation of the aborigines. While the Jesuits were establishing mission stations at Sault Ste. Marie, Michillimackinac and St. Xaviers, the traders were driving a brisk traffic with the friendly Hurons and Algonquins who brought canoes full of furs down the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence every spring. But they were not long satisfied merely to purchase the peltry brought to Montreal. It was evident that there were more numerous tribes and richer beaver grounds in the unknown regions beyond the Great Lakes, whence the trading Indians got their furs. Indeed, the Algonquins had learned from the Sioux of a "forked river" to the west, in a country barren of trees, which led the way to limitless hunting grounds, and their tales of this remoter source of wealth lured to new adventure. Two young men of Three Rivers, Pierre Radisson and Jean Groseiller, determined (1659) to return with the Algonquins to their winter quarters and learn for them-

selves what lay beyond. From Michillimackinac, already the fur mart of the Great Lakes, the adventurous young townsmen paddled up Jean Nicollet's river, the Fox, and down the "Ouisconsing" till they came to the east branch of the great "forked river," and then, passing through the land of the Iowas to the west fork, they made their way up the Missouri to the Mandan villages. They had found the land where no trees grew and whence mountains could be descried toward the setting sun; but their guides would venture no farther west, and, supplies being exhausted, the gallant explorers turned their faces eastward and found their way back across the plains to the head of Lake Superior. Thence they readily returned by way of the lakes and the Ottawa to Montreal. This great adventure was barren of result, because in his endeavor to develop the vast territory he had discovered, Radisson quarrelled with the French governor, gave umbrage to the all-powerful Jesuits, and excited the hostility of rival traders who reaped the fruit of his labors. His *Journal*, suppressed by the authorities, was lost in the archives of Paris and never brought to light until it was printed by the Prince Society of Boston in 1885. It is probable, however, that his account of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the region beyond the Great Lakes had much to do with the undertakings of Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle.

The farther the French explorers penetrated the unknown, the farther the mystery opened out before them. Rumors of a river beyond the mountains, that flowed to a sea whose waters were bitter to the

taste, were gathered from the Mandans and brought back to Montreal, where they excited much interest. There was good reason to suppose that an overland route across America might be known to the Indians. In 1731, two years before Behring set out on his great adventure, Sieur Varennes de la Verenderye undertook to find a route from the Great Lakes to the Western Sea. His expedition was fitted out by the fur merchants of Montreal, and Algonquin canoes conducted the party to the head of Lake Superior, where the Crees guided them to the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg. There Verenderye built a fort for the winter's sojourn, and endeavored to establish friendly relations with the neighboring tribes. The Assiniboins were finally induced to guide the party to the Mandans who knew a people who had seen the westward flowing rivers. Up the Souris River and across the buffalo plains that divide the Assiniboin from the Missouri was a weary march and one that taxed the endurance of the Frenchmen to the utmost. Arrived at last on the Missouri, it proved that the Mandans could tell little more of the Western Sea than the Algonquins and the Hurons knew; but the chief was induced to receive a French flag and the country was claimed as an appanage of the French crown (December 3, 1738). Then the man who had carried the French colors to the heart of the Continent was summoned to Montreal to make good his failure to recoup in furs the expenses of the expedition, and his sons were left to carry on the quest. Following the lead of the Little Missouri, they reached the Big Horn Mountains and were able to

journey thence, in company with a war party of Crows, to the foothills of the Rockies (January 1, 1743). There the continental divide loomed before them, a seemingly impassable barrier, the Crows abandoned the war-path, and the explorers had no choice but to return. Though they failed to find a practicable route to the Pacific, the Verenderyes had discovered the beaver dams of the Saskatchewan Valley, and their apparently bootless wanderings opened up the commercial empire from which a wealth of beaver and other peltry was collected and shipped to Montreal. The fur trade was the one profitable industry of the new world dominion that France ceded to Great Britain in the treaty of 1763.

Section II

English Explorers

The first Englishman to attempt the exploration of the Far West was a certain Jonathan Carver, captain of a company of provincial troops in the French and Indians wars. The importance of exploring Britain's new territory was impressed on the mind of this young soldier, and he undertook (1766–1768), apparently on his own responsibility, a tour of investigation by way of Niagara, the Great Lakes and the Fox and Wisconsin river portages to the Mississippi, up the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, and on to the St. Francis, the farthest point reached by Father Hennepin. He made this voyage in an open canoe with but two servants, a French Canadian and a Mohawk Indian. It was a picturesque

and significant enterprise. His dugout canoe, with the calumet of peace fixed in the bow and the Union Jack floating at the stern, traversed waters hitherto unknown to Englishmen and hardly yet penetrated by the French fur traders. Returning to the falls, he ascended the St. Pierre (the Minnesota) two hundred miles to the village of the "Naudoweses of the Plains" — a tribe affiliated with the Assiniboins — where he spent seven months learning their language and collecting information as to what lay beyond. With coals drawn from the embers of the camp fire, the Indians made maps on sheets of birch bark. They said that the St. Pierre took its rise in a plateau bordered on the west by the "Shining Mountains." From its source, the distance was not great to the "Messorie," while from the head of the Missouri one might cross the mountains to the River of the West, the "Oregan," which ran down to the salt sea. It was an alluring prospect but one not to be ventured with so slight an outfit. Carver returned to England and succeeded in interesting several London capitalists in his daring scheme. He contemplated no less an enterprise than the crossing of the Continent, somewhere between the forty-third and forty-sixth parallels, and the building of a trading post on Pacific waters. It was conceived that a commercial route giving direct access by sea to China and the East Indies would be eventually profitable. Meanwhile it was most fitting that Englishmen should follow up Drake's discoveries on the west coast by such actual occupation as should guarantee British possession of the intervening territory. From such a post, moreover, the search

The Falls of St. Anthony as Carver saw Them.

for the northwest passage might be prosecuted with better hope of success than through Hudson's Bay. Government sanction for the expedition was secured by one Richard Whitworth, M.P., of Staffordshire, a gentleman of influence and public spirit. The party — Whitworth, Carver, and Colonel Rogers of Michillimackinac, with fifty or sixty men — was to have set out in 1774; but, unfortunately for British interests on the Pacific, the rupture with the colonies and the seven years' War of Independence delayed the enterprise and ultimately gave control of the upper Mississippi to the United States.

Carver was bitterly disappointed; but he found some consolation in writing an account of his travels and describing the marvellous resources of the region he had broached, in the hope that some more fortunate adventurer might realize his dream of an English commonwealth on the Pacific coast. From his Indian informants, Carver inferred that the four great rivers of the Continent, the Missisippi, the St. Lawrence, the Bourbon (Red River of the North), and the Oregan, all rose in this central plateau — indeed within thirty miles of each other, though the head waters of the Oregan might be "rather farther west."[1] The commercial significance of so vast a transportation system he deemed of prime importance to the future development of the region. The mineral wealth of the subsidiary territory was no less auspicious. At the head of Lake Superior was "abundance of virgin copper" which an English company had been successfully working when the outbreak of hostilities interrupted all business ventures. The

ore was to be shipped direct to Quebec, and thence abroad.[2] The Winnebagoes told Carver of the mule

CARVER'S MAP OF WESTERN NORTH AMERICA, 1778.

caravans by which the Spaniards conveyed silver from their mines on the Rio Colorado to their settlements farther south. These Indians, who had apparently been driven north by the Spaniards, said that in Mexico the trappings of the horses and their very shoes were of silver. The Pacific Coast Indians, who had also been expatriated by the Spanish conquest, "have gold so plenty among them that they make their most common utensils of it."[3] Car-

ver believed that the Shining Mountains "may be found to contain more riches in their bowels than those of Hindoostan and Malabar." The immediate wealth of the Mississippi region, represented in the fur trade, seemed very great. At Prairie du Chien, an Indian village of some three hundred families, an annual fair or mart was held in the month of May, to which came traders from the St. Lawrence and from the lower Mississippi. The place was neutral ground by Indian usage, and the chiefs of the neighboring tribes were wont to discuss whether to dispose of the season's hunt here or to take the packs on to Michillimackinac or to New Orleans.

Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the North West Company and factor at Fort Chippewyan on Lake Athabasca, next took up the quest for the Western Sea. The duties of his remote post were not so exacting but that he had leisure to dream of the future possibilities of the region that lay beyond. From the west came the Peace River, whose sources no man knew, while to the north ran the Great Slave, flowing none knew whither. Either might lead to the Pacific and prove to be the route to a new fur country. Moreover, the British government had offered a prize of £4000 to the discoverer of the Northwest Passage. This, at least, Mackenzie determined to win. In the summer of 1789 (June 2 to July 14) his canoe, manned by Indians of the post, voyaged down river and lake to the Arctic Sea. The partners at Montreal received the announcement of this exploit with no enthusiasm, since they saw small chance of profit in the discovery, but they consented that the

daring young factor should try his luck on Peace River. After the trading season closed in the spring of 1793, Mackenzie's party set out in two well-stocked canoes. As they approached the mountains, navigation grew difficult, and the river was beset with cascades and cañons whose precipitous walls shut out the day. The men grew frightened and mutinous, but Mackenzie forced them on by threats and promises, himself setting the example of hardihood, and at last succeeded in attaining the summit of the continental divide. On the western slope they came upon a river (the Frazer) flowing directly south, and this they followed in the belief that it would guide them to the Pacific. Fortunately some Indians were encountered who warned them against the dangers of this turbulent stream and assured them that a march of eleven days directly west would bring them to salt water. On July 22, 1793, the exhausted party reached an arm of the Pacific near Cape Menzies, where the leader inscribed his name and the date and the words "from Canada by land" on a great rock on which the men had taken refuge from the hostile natives. Mackenzie returned immediately to his duties at Fort Chippewyan, and not till nine years later did the English government offer the tribute of knighthood to the man who had twice crossed the Continent and determined the boundaries of British America.

Section III

American Explorers

John Ledyard. — It was doubtless Carver's enterprise that Jefferson had in mind when he wrote to George Rogers Clark in 1783, "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. they pretend it is only to promote knolege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country. but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid our prospect is not worth asking the question." [4] That the hope of extending American influence to the Pacific had taken firm hold on the potential mind of Jefferson became evident during his sojourn in Paris (1786–1787) where he discussed a similar project with a visionary Connecticut Yankee, John Ledyard. Ledyard was born with the *wanderlust* in his blood. Despaired of by his family because he would not study law, disapproved by the faculty of Dartmouth College because he preferred live facts to books, at twenty-five years of age he took his life in his own hands and got a berth as common sailor on a schooner bound for England. Reaching London just as Cook was enlisting men for his third voyage round the world, the Yankee boy had the good luck to secure appointment as corporal of marines. What

he saw of Nootka Sound and the Russian trading post on Unalaska implanted a firm determination to secure some share in the fur trade for his own compatriots. "If it was necessary that a European should discover the existence of the continent, in the name of *Amor Patriae* let a native explore its resources and boundaries. It is my wish to be the man." Returning to the United States, Ledyard wrote an account of Cook's last voyage, by way of attracting attention to the rich possibilities of the northwest coast, and he actually succeeded in inducing so canny a business man as Robert Morris of Philadelphia to propose the fitting out of a trading vessel; but the merchants of Boston and New York distrusted the dreamer.

Concluding that America was not ripe for such an enterprise as he had conceived, Ledyard turned to France for financial backing and, arriving in Paris in 1784, he found there two American sympathizers, Paul Jones and Thomas Jefferson. The former was ready to take part in a trading venture, provided the French government would furnish aid. This, however, was not forthcoming. The latter saw a chance to realize a daring dream. Jefferson tells the story of his relations with Ledyard in his life of Captain Lewis (printed as introduction to Biddle's *Lewis and Clark*): "I proposed to him to go by land to Kamschatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate in and through that to the United States." This was a simple programme on paper, but practically impos-

sible, since Ledyard had no capital, the permit that Jefferson had hoped to secure through the French embassy was refused, the Russian hunters did not then go so far south as Nootka Sound, and the latitude of the upper Missouri was quite unknown. However, neither of these devoted optimists was wont to be daunted by cold facts. Ledyard went to Stockholm and, unable to secure a sledge, tramped the whole distance to St. Petersburg (*via* Lapland, Finland, and Tornea), twelve hundred miles around the Gulf of Bothnia. There a passport was grudgingly vouchsafed (June 1, 1787) and Ledyard joined an emissary of the Empress Catherine—Dr. William Brown—for the journey to Barnaul midway of his six-thousand-mile journey. Thence the indomitable Yankee travelled with the Cossack mail carriers across Siberia to Irkutsk and thence to Yakutsk. Here he encountered an old acquaintance of Cook's company, one Billings, sent by the Russian government to chart the islands of the North Pacific. The realization of his hopes seemed at hand, and Ledyard was readily induced by the rival explorer to accompany him back to Irkutsk. There Cossack police, sent express by the empress, arrested the American and carried him post haste five thousand miles back across Siberia and Russia and deposited him in Poland, west of the frontier. The importunities of the Russian fur traders, determined to maintain their monopoly of the Aleutian Islands, had raised an impassable barrier between Ledyard and his goal. It was a crushing blow. Broken in health and utterly disheartened, the dreamer, bereft of his hope, re-

turned to London. "I give up," said he to his English friends. "I give up,"[5] he wrote to Jefferson. His reputation for courage and resource was such as to secure for him the leadership of the expedition that was being sent out by the African Association to discover the source of the Nile; but his life was spent. He died (1788) at Cairo on the way out.

Undiscouraged by this tragic failure, Jefferson ventured a new project. In 1792, he induced the American Philosophical Society, of which he was then vice-president, to undertake the financing of an expedition that "should ascend the Missouri River, cross the Stony Mountains, and descend down the nearest river to the Pacific," for the purpose of finding a feasible trade route. André Michaux, the botanist and explorer, was selected to head the enterprise; but unluckily the French consul, Genet, had need of Michaux, and he was despatched to Louisville to confer with George Rogers Clark as to the prospect for detaching the aggrieved Kentuckians from their allegiance to the United States. Thus Jefferson's second scheme came to nought. Meantime another member of Washington's Cabinet, Attorney General Knox, was moving in the same direction. He instructed General Harmar, then in command on the Ohio, to send a party up the Missouri to its source. Captain John Armstrong was selected for this hazardous duty. Alone, in a dug-out canoe, he set out to paddle up the alluring river (1790). He had proceeded some distance when he encountered fur traders descending, who told him that the Indians

were on the war-path and that no white man would be allowed to pass. Rightly deeming that discretion was the better part of valor, Armstrong returned to St. Louis.

The authorities of this frontier post of the Spanish dominions had been by no means negligent of the great possibilities of the mysterious river that poured its muddy tide into the Mississippi within their jurisdiction. Zenon Trudeau, the ambitious governor of Spanish Illinois, had organized the "Commercial Company of the River Missouri" for the purpose of developing the fur trade, and he hoped to find a route to the South Sea. Three expeditions were sent up the Missouri. The first (1794) was led by J. B. Trudeau, the schoolmaster of St. Louis, but he was attacked and robbed by the Sioux and got no farther than the Pawnee villages. The second effort under Lecuyer was no more successful; but the third under James Mackay, a Scotchman from Montreal who had become a Spanish subject, had better fortune. Mackay founded three trading posts between the Platte and the Niobrara, and John Evans, a Welshman of the party, succeeded in reaching the Mandan villages. The result in furs was so slight, however, that the Commercial Company decided to abandon the enterprise, and the expedition was recalled. Evans died soon after, crazed by drink and exposure, but Mackay was adequately rewarded by the far-seeing Carondelet, who assigned him a land grant of 55,000 *arpents* on the north bank of the Missouri and the position of *commandante* at St. André.[6]

Lewis and Clark. — As president, Jefferson had unforeseen opportunity to promote the exploration he had so long had at heart. The acquisition of Louisiana gave the United States control of the Missouri River and direct access to the Shining Mountains, beyond which lay the Oregan of Carver's hopes. On January 18, 1803, three months before the signing of the purchase treaty, Jefferson sent a confidential message to Congress recommending the appropriation of $2500 to meet the expenses of an expedition up the Missouri to its source and beyond to the Western Ocean. The object assigned for this extraordinary government enterprise was the extension of "the external commerce of the United States" and the promotion of our trade with the Indian tribes, who were then furnishing "great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude through an infinite number of portages and lakes shut up by ice through a long season." [7] The president did not conceal his hope that the furs hitherto monopolized by the British traders might be diverted to St. Louis. Down-stream transportation by rivers open for navigation the year round offered advantages which must ultimately prevail.

Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson's private secretary, was appointed to command the expedition. This remarkable man was then barely thirty years of age. Born in Albermarle County, Virginia, under the shadow of the Blue Ridge, he had inherited the best traits of a race of patriots and pioneers. His father and uncle had served in the Revolutionary War, the latter on the Cherokee frontier. From boy-

hood he had been accustomed to the life of the hunter and woodsman, and he had seen military service in the Northwest Territory, having fought under Mad Anthony Wayne. That his imagination was captivated by the possibilities of the vast realm beyond the Mississippi is evidenced in the fact that he had applied for this adventurous post when it was offered to Michaux. Lewis lacked the technical training in botany and astronomy required for such scientific observations as were proposed, and with a view to making good this lack, he went to Philadelphia, where the *savants* of the Philosophical Society gave him all the assistance in their power. While in this city, he superintended the manufacture of the arms for his party in the arsenal at Lancaster. With Captain Lewis in this arduous enterprise was associated his friend and companion in arms, William Clark of Louisville, Kentucky, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark and an experienced backwoodsman. Besides distinguishing himself at the battle of Fallen Timbers, Clark had shown marked ability in conducting large trains of pack horses through a difficult country, and had given evidence of tact and good judgment in the negotiations carried on with the Spanish posts beyond the Mississippi.

The news of the ratification of the treaty of purchase, signed May 2, 1803, reached the United States early in July. On the fifth of that month, Captain Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh. There he learned to his delight that William Clark had consented to serve as his aid and would join the party at Louisville. He proceeded down the Ohio, stopping

at the various garrisons to find his men. Fourteen soldiers were enlisted and two French boatmen. Clark brought with him nine Kentuckians and his body servant York, a faithful friend who proved useful in more ways than one.[8] Thirty picked men were secured, Kentuckians for the most part, men of courage, resource, and endurance. All were carefully tested as to physical fitness, and some hundred volunteers were rejected as unequal to the strain likely to be imposed. All were young men and single. One, George Shannon, was a mere boy of seventeen when he met Captain Lewis, caught the fever of adventure, and ran away from home to join the party. He proved by no means the least dependable man of the force. The pecuniary inducements held out by the recruiting officers were army pay and the soldier's portion of public lands with which a needy government was wont to meet its obligations.

The party arrived at Cahokia in the autumn of 1803, too late to ascend the Missouri before ice formed. It was therefore determined to go into winter quarters on a little stream emptying into the Mississippi opposite the Missouri, the Dubois or Wood River. Here in United States territory, as Jefferson shrewdly opined, the soldiers' pay and winter rations might be charged to the War Department. A far more important consideration, and one that must have appealed to the commanders, was separation from the dissipating influences of the trading post across the river.

The delay was necessitated not only by the lateness of the season, but by the fact that the purchase

had not been ratified in Upper Louisiana, and the Spanish officials were still in authority; but it proved a most fortunate postponement. The winter was spent in drilling the men and inculcating a *corps d'esprit* that proved an all-important factor in their ultimate success. This body of "robust, healthy, hardy young men" accustomed to the freedom — not to say license — of the frontier, were led with a tact and firmness that evoked their steadfast loyalty. Plenty of muscular exercise was provided by the emergencies of camp life. Men like Gass, who had some skill as carpenters, sawed planks and raised the cabins; John Shields, the blacksmith of the party, manufactured the nails and rough tools; other men were sent out to hunt; others still made sugar from the maple trees, pioneer fashion. Target practice made an important part of every day's programme, and guard duty was rigidly maintained. The little company was divided into three squads of eight men each, and each squad was under the command of a sergeant elected by the group. Ordway, Floyd, and Pryor were the men thus honored. Captain Lewis insisted that as ready obedience be rendered to the sergeant in command as to himself or to Captain Clark. The camp regulations were at first galling to these backwoodsmen. No one was to absent himself from camp without express permission, and no whiskey was to be served from the contractor's store except the legal ration of a half gill per man each day. The winter's discipline brought the little force to the highest point of efficiency. Each man was like tempered steel, a tool wrought for its task.

The equipment was provided no less carefully than the men, and the meagre appropriation of $2500 was expended with the strictest economy. Lewis estimated that there would be required for "mathematical instruments, $217; arms and accoutrements extraordinary, $81; camp equipage, $255; medecin & packing, $55; means of transportation, $430; Indian presents, $696; provisions extraordinary, $224; materials for making up the various articles into portable packs, $55; for the pay of hunters guides & Interpreters, $300; in silver coin to defray the expences of the party from Nashville to the last white settlement on the Missisourie, $100." [9]

There remained barely $87 for the contingencies that might arise in the course of a journey of four thousand miles by an unknown route to a destination far beyond the limits of the United States authority. Never was so momentous an enterprise so thriftily furnished! Strict attention was given to the prevention of waste, and provisions were of the simplest description. "Parchmeal," cornmeal, hulled corn, flour, biscuit, pork, coffee, beans, peas, and lard were laid in at St. Louis. These, with seven barrels of salt and the sugar made at Wood River camp, did not admit of much luxury.[10]

The ceremony of the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States (March 10, 1804), Lewis attended as the official representative of the American government. It was a strangely symbolic occasion. The change of allegiance from Spain to France had not yet taken place, and so the mingled Spanish and French population of Laclede's vil-

lage watched the Spanish flag lowered to give place to the French, and that in turn to give way to the Stars and Stripes. Contending emotions of chagrin and hope must have swayed the aliens present. The traders probably approved the change, but the *habitants* who had left their farms in the Illinois Country to escape English rule could not see the American flag floating over St. Louis without dismay.

At St. Louis boats were secured for the transportation of the party to the Mandan villages, the farthest known point on the Missouri. A keel boat carrying a large square sail and twenty-two oars, and two pirogues, one of six and one of seventy oars, were deemed sufficient. The keel boat was fifty-five feet long and drew three feet of water. A ten-foot deck at the bow served as a hold for the luggage, while the stern boasted a cabin and forecastle. A swivel gun was mounted amidships. For propelling power the main reliance was the wind, which served admirably in smooth stretches of water; but when the current was narrow and tortuous the navigators had recourse to the *cordelle*, a taut rope attached to the mast with which the boat was towed up-stream by a line of men walking along the bank. When the *cordelle* was impracticable, they were obliged to pole or row, forcing the craft over shallows and rapids by means of these more laborious devices. Seven bales and one box contained the supplies, clothing, implements, ammunition and medicine, while there were fourteen bales and one box of articles to be used in traffic with the Indians. The goods were carefully distributed among the several packages so that the loss of any

one would be less felt. The powder, a necessity of life in the wilderness, was packed in leaden canisters of such size that there was just enough powder in each package to fire the bullets that could be made of the lead. The canisters were tightly sealed so as to be water-proof. Sixteen more men, soldiers and *voyageurs*, were engaged at St. Louis to accompany the party as far as the Mandans, bringing the total force up to forty-five. Two horses were provided to be led along the bank as an assistance in bringing in game.

On Monday, May 14, 1804, the little flotilla set out on the long voyage up the Missouri. Captain Clark was in command, Lewis being detained in St. Louis, and he proceeded but a short way up the river, meaning to test the balance of his lading. Three times the keel boat ran upon sunken driftwood, and it became clear that the luggage must be shifted to the stern, so that the boat might surmount these obstacles. At St. Charles, Captain Lewis overtook the party, bringing with him some interested visitors, several officers of the United States army, A. Chouteau, C. Gratiot, and "many other respectable inhabitants of St. Louis." The people of St. Charles were no less desirous of doing honor to the explorers. Clark describes them as "pore, polite and harmonious"; but poverty did not prevent their giving a ball, which proved somewhat too exhilarating to the men. In spite of the notice posted on May 16: "The commanding officer is fully assured that every man of his Detachment will have a true respect for their own dignity, and not make it

necessary for him to leave St. Charles for a more retired situation," Captain Clark was "compelled to punish for misconduct" next day. A court-martial was organized to hear and determine the evidence adduced against Warner, Hall, and Collins "for being absent last night without leave, behaving in an unbecoming manner at the ball last night, and speaking in language tending to bring into disrespect the orders of the commanding officer." The sentence, fifty lashes for Collins and twenty-five for the other two, must have seemed severe to these young blades from Kentucky; but the lesson was not heeded. On June 20 the two last were again court-martialled, Collins "charged with getting drunk this morning out of whiskey put under his charge as a sentinel and for suffering Hall to draw whiskey out of the said barrel intended for the party." This time Collins received a hundred lashes and Hall fifty. A few days later Willard was tried for lying down and going to sleep at his post. He pleaded "guilty of lying down but not guilty of going to sleep." He was, however, found guilty on both counts and sentenced to one hundred lashes, twenty-five to be administered in the evening of four successive days. Two more cases of discipline occurred early in the voyage. For some mutinous words uttered in a bad humor, John Newman was sentenced to receive seventy-five lashes and to be disbanded. An even more serious defection was that of Moses B. Reed, who deserted (August 4) in company with two of the *voyageurs*. Being recovered, he was sentenced to "run the gauntlet four times

through the party, and that each man with nine switches should punish him, and for him not to be considered in future as one of the party." This was the last case of discipline. The company had been thoroughly sifted, and thereafter every man served with the steadfast devotion that befitted their high mission. The *Journals* contain frequent allusions to the loyalty and courage of the men. The general health of the party and the absence of serious illness was due in large measure to the thorough training they had undergone. But one man was lost during the exposure and unexpected vicissitudes of fourteen months in the wilderness.[11]

In accordance with Jefferson's instructions, Lewis made such observations of the fauna and flora, the soil and mineral wealth, as might be managed from the vicinity of the river. Missouri looked to him a land of promise. The bottoms were well wooded with walnut, hickory, ash, oak, and cottonwood. Thickets of wild plum, crab-apple, grape-vine, and honeysuckle adorned the banks, and there were great plantations of mulberry trees. Back from the river lay fertile prairies covered with native grass, growing like timothy but flowered like a hop vine. The French hunters reported lead deposits on the lower Missouri, but Lewis was unable to verify their statements. On the upper river, pit-coal was in frequent evidence, horizontal strata from one to five feet in depth of "carbonated wood" showing in the river bluffs. At some points, pumice-stone and a kind of lava indicated that these surface deposits had been on fire. On the voyage through the plains there

was no lack of subsistence. It was the "constant practice" to send the hunters off into the wooded bottoms where game abounded. Deer and wild turkeys were always to be had on the lower Missouri, plenty of elk were found near the Kansas, while in the Dakotas vast herds of buffalo appeared. Meat that was not needed for immediate consumption was "jerked" against a day of scarcity. Buffalo humps, elk steaks, venison, beaver tails, wild pigeons, turkeys, geese, and fish in great variety afforded a luxurious menu, so that the salt pork remained untouched among the stores. Yet one man came near starving to death in this land of plenty, for the want of ammunition. George Shannon, who was sent to look for missing horses (August 22), had pushed on ahead of the party, thinking to overtake them. He was discovered on September 11, well-nigh famished. "He had been 12 days without any thing to eate but Grapes & one Rabit, which he Killed by shooting a piece of hard Stick in place of a ball." [12] Another kind of game, even more abundant but less appreciated, was a winged creature recorded by Captain Clark as "musquiters" or "musquetors" or "misquetors" indiscriminately; but they were always "verry bad" or "verry troublesome" and rendered the night camps along the Missouri veritable torture.

At this season of high water, the river offered no serious difficulties even to large boats, but the man at the bow had always to keep a sharp lookout. A muddy current, five hundred yards wide, swirling and eddying among the islands and sand bars, and

beset with sunken timber, afforded many a chance for shipwreck. A sudden squall from the prairie often rendered the sails unmanageable and threatened the capsizing of a boat and heavy loss of supplies, if not of life. The shifting channel baffled all experience, for the bottom rose and fell as the treacherous flood carried the sand from place to place. One night when the boats were beached on a sand bar in the middle of the river, the watch suddenly called out that the ground was sinking. The bar was being undermined so rapidly that the men barely got the boats off before their camping ground disappeared. The bluffs frequently caved under force of the current, and tons of gravel, sand, and silt sank beneath the tide. It was therefore unsafe to steer the boat too near the shore or to anchor for the night under a bank.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Missouri was already the fur traders' highway. The mighty river with its great tributaries, the Osage, the Kansas, the Platte, the Niobrara, etc., penetrated to the very heart of the beaver country. Our travellers frequently came upon fortified trading posts, some of them abandoned long since and some apparently in use the year previous. Trappers and *voyageurs* were floating down the tortuous channel in *batteaux* and dugout canoes, heavily laden with peltry, furs, and buffalo hides, the fruit of their season's traffic among the Otoes, the Pawnees, the Kansas, or the Sioux. One such party had been twelve months in the Omaha country. Their catch was worth $900, but they were "out of provisions and out of powder"

and heartily glad of the hospitality proffered by the captains. Pierre Durion, a Frenchman who had lived twenty years among the Sioux, was encountered coming down the river to St. Louis, and he was easily persuaded to return with the exploring expedition.

On the lower Missouri there was serious danger of a brush with the Kansas, — "dissolute, lawless banditti," as Lewis terms them. Fortunately for the expedition, the "Kaws" were off on a buffalo hunt at this season. In general the Indian tribes were quite friendly to the whites because they brought goods in exchange for their furs, but they were frequently at war among themselves. The nomad tribes, the "Kites" of the western mountains who had acquired horses from the Spaniards, and the Sioux of the northern plains who had secured guns from the British, were the scourge of the agricultural villages of the Osages, Otoes, Cheyennes, Aricaras, and Mandans. An important part of Lewis' mission was to establish peaceful relations between the Indian tribes and the newly established government. He therefore was at great pains to convene representative assemblies of the Indians and to impress upon their chiefs the power and friendly intentions of the United States and the importance of arbitrating their intertribal differences.

On October 21, the explorers reached Heart River, the Mandans' land (Bismarck, N.D.). Here on the bluffs overhanging the east bank were the ruins of nine villages surrounded by earthworks, but abandoned since the smallpox epidemic of 1782.

The surviving Mandans had their dwellings and corn-fields a few miles farther up the river, and here (47° 21′ 27″) the captains determined to establish their winter quarters. The weather had turned very cold, snow was falling, and the men were beginning to suffer from rheumatism. A council was held with the Mandans, peace was negotiated between that nation and the Ricaras, and a friendly understanding was established so that a regular supply of food might be obtained. Captain Clark, who had been looking up and down the river for a suitable camping ground, reported a good position about three miles below the villages, where there was plenty of timber and a spring of good water. There on a point of low ground (Elm Point, heavily timbered to-day), sheltered by bluffs from the dreaded northeast storms, the cabins were built of heavy cottonwood, elm, and ash, stone for the chimneys being brought in the pirogues. The men were divided into squads, some to fell timber, others to burn charcoal and shell corn, others still to hunt the deer and buffalo and lay in a good stock of meat. The northern winter was approaching fast, there was a hard frost every night, and the geese were flying south. By the middle of November, ice began to float down the river. Then the keel boat was unpacked, and its contents deposited in the storehouse. The huts were completed by the twentieth of the month, and not a whit too soon. By the end of November, there was a foot of snow on the ground, and the river was frozen over so that it could be crossed without risk.

A Mandan Village, Bull-boats in the Foreground.

Fort Mandan was sixteen hundred miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and the expedition, being well on its way, could afford some relaxation. A Dakota winter, moreover, was a foe before which the Indians retreated to their lodges, and its severity was quite beyond the experience of these Kentuckians. By the middle of December the thermometer fell to forty-five degrees below zero, and several men were suffering from frozen hands and feet, snow-blindness, and pleurisy. The fort was snug enough and capable of prolonged defence against savage foes. Larocque, a North West Company trader who visited the Mandans that winter, thus describes it: It was "constructed in a triangular form, ranges of houses making two sides, and a range of amazing long pickets, the front. The whole is made so strong as to be almost cannon ball proof. The two ranges of houses do not join one another, but are joined by a piece of fortification made in the form of a demicircle that can defend two sides of the Fort, on the top of which they keep sentry all night; . . . A sentinel is likewise kept all day walking in the Fort." [13] To guard against annoyance from the Mandans, the gates were locked at sunset, and no Indian was allowed to remain in the fort over night except by express permission.

The storehouse was well stocked with venison and buffalo, and the Indians brought plenty of corn which they had cached for winter use in pits near their lodges. One by one the chiefs visited the fort, each attended by a squaw laden with corn or fresh meat. The women would sometimes present for

the white man's delectation the favorite Mandan dish, — "a kittle of boiled Cimnins [pumpkins], beens, corn and choke cherries with the stones, which was palitable." [14] Such donations were scrupulously rewarded in trinkets or tobacco. The par of exchange was very unequal, if cost of production be the measure of value. For example, a fillet of deerskin two inches in width was regarded by these people, who knew nothing of the tanner's art, as equivalent to a fine horse. Even so, the supply of Indian goods might have been exhausted, but for the labors of John Shields, the blacksmith, whose forge was regarded as "great medicine." To him were brought tomahawks and kettles to be mended, and he wrought battle-axes and knives after a pattern of his own that gave great satisfaction to the Mandan braves who coveted the white man's weapons.

"Had these Whites come amongst us," said the chiefs, "with charitable views they would have loaded their 'Great Boat' with necessaries. It is true they have ammunition, but they prefer throwing it away idly than sparing a shot of it to a poor Mandan." The Indians admired the air-gun, as it could discharge forty shots out of one load, but they dreaded the magic of the owners. "Had I these white warriors in the upper plains," said the Gros Ventres chief, "my young men on horseback would soon do for them, as they would do for so many 'wolves,' for," continued he, "there are only two sensible men among them, the worker of iron and the mender of guns." [15]

At the Mandan villages were found several

French Canadians, *voyageurs* and trappers, who had taken native wives and settled down at this remote trading place. Their knowledge of Indian languages and customs, together with the friendly status accorded them, rendered them indispensable as guides and interpreters, although they often proved tricky and unreliable. Lewis at first engaged Jessaume, a crafty fellow, who had lived fifteen years in the region; but he was later dismissed as untrustworthy. Chaboneau, who had lived among the Minnetarees and had married a Shoshone woman, was finally secured. Personally, he was not a great acquisition; but it was thought that his squaw, Sacajawea, might render valuable service when the expedition should reach the land of her people, the Snake Indians of the Rocky Mountains. From the Indians and trappers, the captains obtained much information concerning the country as far as the Rocky Mountains. Beyond the great divide no man of them had ventured.

Not only Mandan chiefs and French *voyageurs*, but British fur traders, were hospitably entertained at the captains' chimney corner. Fort Mandan was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from the North West Company's post on the Assiniboin, and during the winter three or four trading parties arrived, bringing tobacco, beads, guns, and blankets, to be exchanged for furs and horses. McCracken of the North West Company was on his return trip to the Assiniboin factory (November 1), and to him Captain Lewis intrusted the passport given him by the British Minister at Washington

as an indication of the peaceful character of the expedition. On December 16, Mr. Hugh Haney brought back a return message, a polite note from Mr. Charles Chaboillez, one of the partners, offering to render any assistance in his power.[16] Since the Americans were not come to trade, there was no occasion for rivalry, and the most friendly relations were maintained. Mackenzie (Charles) writes as follows of this winter at Mandan: "Mr. Larocque and I having nothing very particular claiming attention, we lived contentedly and became intimate with the gentlemen of the American expedition, who on all occasions seemed happy to see us, and always treated us with civility and kindness. It is true, Captain Lewis could not make himself agreeable to us. He could speak fluently and learnedly on all subjects, but his inveterate disposition against the British stained, at least in our eyes, all his eloquence. Captain Clark was equally well informed, but his conversation was always pleasant, for he seemed to dislike giving offence unnecessarily." [17] The facts seem to be that Lewis, charged with the diplomatic responsibilities of the enterprise and hearing that Larocque had attempted to distribute British flags and medals among the Indians, told him firmly that this would not be permitted on United States territory. Larocque having denied any such intention, he was permitted to use one of Lewis' interpreters in the prosecution of his business, on the express understanding that he would not discuss any subject but that of his traffic and would sell no liquor to the Indians. This same

Larocque was eager to accompany the party on their journey up the Missouri, but Lewis thought it best to decline his proposal.

Other indications of national rivalry contributed to justify Lewis' caution. The interpreter, Chaboneau, visited the lodges of the Minnetarees, some ninety miles to the north of Mandan, and brought back word that "the Clerk of the Hudson Bay Co. with the Me ne tar res has been Speaking Some fiew expresssns unfavourable towards us, and that it is Said the NW Co: intends building a fort at the Mene-tar-rès." [18] When Fort Mandan was visited by the Minnetaree chiefs (January 15) they were received with special attention, and their friendship was secured. The hostile influence of the traders was particularly evident in the case of the Yankton Sioux, who had been armed against the Chippeways by Mr. Cameron, an independent trader, from his factory on the St. Peters. They had declared their intention of destroying Lewis' party as "bad medicines," but they dared nothing more than the theft of some horses taken down river by a hunting party. The explorers were destined to experience a farther instance of the deleterious effect of the fur trade on the Indians in the hostility of the Assiniboins, the hereditary foes of the Mandans and Minnetarees. Their neighborhood to the British factories meant that they were well supplied with liquor and firearms, which they doled out to the more distant tribes at their pleasure. Lewis refused to furnish the Mandans with firearms, advising them to keep the peace and await the time when American traders

would bring them supplies of every kind. Here, as on other barbarous frontiers, refugees from justice found asylum and added their defiance of law and order to the Indians' instinctive distrust of the whites.

By the middle of February the winter had moderated, and the party began to make preparations for the voyage up the Missouri. Spring came none too soon, for the stock of meat laid in during November and December was exhausted, and it was difficult to procure more. The hunters went sixty miles in pursuit of game, but the deer and elk and buffalo they brought back were so lean as to be poor nourishment. On February 18 the men were reduced for the first time to a vegetable diet, — the corn and dried squashes brought in by the squaws. The pirogues were soon chopped and pried out of the ice, and dragged to the shore with a windlass and elkskin ropes. The barge proved unwieldy for these devices, and it was decided, moreover, that she was too large for the upper Missouri. Canoes enough to take her place were built by a gang of men sent out to a cottonwood grove under direction of Sergeant Gass. By the first of March the river began to break up, and swans, ducks and wild geese were seen flying toward the northeast. The boats and pirogues were ready on the twenty-first. On the twenty-ninth the river, which had been rising for several days, broke through the ice, and the water came down in floods. The men were set to getting out the stores and Indian goods that they might dry in the sun, and the supplies were packed in eight

duplicate divisions "so as to preserve a portion of each in case of accident."

From Fort Mandan, Lewis sent to President Jefferson a letter reporting the journey up to date, together with a map of the region still to be traversed, based on "testimony of a number of Indians who have visited that country, and who have been separately and carefully examined on that subject, and we therefore think it entitled to some degree of confidence." [19] On the same day that the expedition set out up the Missouri, the barge started back to St. Louis, with seven soldiers, two Frenchmen, and Mr. Gravelines as pilot. Lewis' letter, together with the journals kept by himself and Captain Clark, were communicated to Congress (February, 1805), and furnished the first authentic information to reach Washington concerning the party. Plans for the future were more or less hypothetical, but the captains anticipated little difficulty in reaching the Great Falls of the Missouri. There the pirogues were to be abandoned, and the voyage pursued in skin canoes to the head of navigable water. Beyond this "any calculation with respect to our daily progress can be little more than mere conjecture." It was hoped that the journey overland from the sources of the Missouri to the Columbia might be greatly facilitated by horses to be purchased of the Indians for the transportation of luggage.

On the seventh of April, 1805, the little flotilla, two pirogues and six dugout canoes, set out on its great adventure. Lewis wrote to Jefferson, "At this moment, every individual of the party are in

good health, and excellent sperits; zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed; not a whisper of discontent or murmur is to be heard among them; but all in unison, act with the most perfect harmoney. with such men I have every thing to hope, and but little to fear." [20] All superfluities were dispensed with. Firearms and ammunition, carpenter's and blacksmith's tools, the iron frame of a boat which Lewis had brought from Harper's Ferry and expected to put together for the voyage beyond the falls, and such of the provisions as had been saved — some parched meal, portable soup, pork, and flour — made up the luggage.

Navigation of the upper Missouri proved to be comparatively easy. The water was shallow and muddy, and sand bars were frequent; but the caving banks and treacherous driftwood that beset the lower river had well-nigh disappeared. Sails could be used for long stretches, and the *cordelle* was readily worked from the low banks. The only serious difficulties were the occasional strong head winds and the sudden squalls that threatened an unwary steersman with capsize. The ever present mosquitoes besieged the night camps, and dust storms arising in the waterless plains blinded the eyes; but, with these exceptions, the voyage was a pleasure excursion. Traces of Indians were seen, abandoned lodges and empty whiskey casks, indicating the recent presence of Assiniboins. The captains were on their guard, but by great good fortune they had no encounter with this "vicious, illy disposed nation."

The Little Missouri was passed on April 12, and here two Frenchmen, who had accompanied the party up the river, stopped, thinking the prospect for beaver excellent. They were the first white men to trap in this region. A few miles above they passed a stream (Indian River) which they called Chaboneau's Creek because this man had once camped there. It marked the limit of his knowledge of the Missouri. Lapage, one of the *voyageurs*, had penetrated a little farther; but beyond Mussel Shell Creek, the great waterway was unexplored. On April 26, the beautiful river, known to the French as the Rochejaune, was reached. The Indians had assured them that this tributary took its rise in the mountains, near the source of the Platte and Missouri rivers. Lewis suggests in his journal that the plateau on the right bank of the Missouri, two miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, would be a good point for a government trading post. Building stone was at hand and fresh, sweet water, and the two rivers gave access to rich fur country. "The beaver of this part of the Missouri are larger, fatter, more abundant and better clad with fur than those of any other part of the country that I have yet seen; I have remarked also that their fur is much darker." [21] The first considerable river flowing in from the north or left bank was called the Milk, because of "the peculiar whiteness of its water, which precisely resembles tea with a considerable mixture of milk." [22] Exploration proved that this great river drained a beautiful valley, with wide, fertile bottom lands of

rich loam. It was surmised that the source might be near the Saskatchewan and that the Milk might afford communication with British waters. On May 9, they passed "a most extraordinary river," which they decided to call the Bigdry; "It is as wide as the Missouri is at this place or half a mile wide and not containing a single drop of runing water; some small standing pools being all the water that could be perceived," [23] although there were indications that in the rainy season the river bed was filled with a mad torrent. Here, too, the ravages of the beaver were evident. "In [one] place particularly they had cut all the timber down for three acres in front and on nearly one back from the river and had removed a considerable proportion of it, the timber grew very thick and some of it was as large as a man's body." [24]

As the explorers entered the foot-hills, the temperature fell, and ice appeared along the river's edge; pines and cedar trees began to supplant the cottonwood, and the air was astonishingly dry and pure. As the stream grew more rapid, "riffles and rocky points" rendered navigation difficult. The current was too strong for oars and too deep for the pole, and the canoes had to be dragged along by the *cordelle*. The men were frequently obliged to jump into the water to stave the boats off the rocks, and the strain on their endurance was great. "The men are compelled to be in the water even to their arm-pits, and the water is yet very could, and so frequent are those point[s] that they are one fourth of their time in the water, added to this the

Beaver on the Upper Missouri, showing the Brush Cutting.

banks and bluffs along which they are obliged to pass are so slippery and the mud so tenacious that they are unable to wear their mockersons, and in that situation draging the heavy burthen of a canoe and walking acasionally for several hundred yards over the sharp fragments of rocks which tumble from the clifts and garnish the borders of the river." [25]

On May 25, Captain Lewis ascended some hills near Windsor Creek, Elk Rapids, and descried the snowy peaks of the "Rock Mountains." The sources of the Missouri must be near at hand as well as that pass over the great divide which would lead to westward-flowing rivers, and Lewis was keenly aware that the difficulties of his journey had begun. On June 3, they came upon a river flowing in from the north, as large as the Missouri and so similar in general character that the captains were at a loss to determine which was the real Missouri. "To mistake the stream at this period of the season, two months of the traveling season having now elapsed, and to ascend such stream to the rocky Mountain or perhaps much further before we could inform ourselves whether it did approach the Columbia or not, and then be obliged to return and take the other stream would not only loose us the whole of this season but would probably so dishearten the party that it might defeat the expedition altogether." [26]

The men, notably the *voyageurs*, held that the northern fork, a shallow, muddy stream, was the course to follow; but the captains were inclined to think that the south branch, being clearer and

more rapid, came more directly from the mountains. Reconnoitering parties were therefore sent out up the two rivers and into the hills in the hope of getting some definite clew. The first day's effort bringing no decisive result, the two captains set out, Lewis up the north fork and Clark along the south, two days' journey. The result confirmed them in their first opinion. Lewis followed his river fifty-nine miles and, observing that the mountain range was trending to the northwest, concluded that the stream must drain the vast intervening valley and could lead to no divide. He named it Maria's River for a cousin back in Virginia. Clark, on the other hand, after working his way with great difficulty forty-five miles up a narrow valley with precipitous sides, was fully convinced that the south branch had its source in the snow-clad mountains to the southwest. Meantime the men, relying on the views of Cruzatte, the most experienced of the boatmen, held to their contrary opinion. There was one sure criterion. The Mandans had been positive that on the Missouri, a little to the south of the setting sun, there was a great waterfall not to be confused with any rapids. Lewis therefore determined to push up the south fork until he should reach the falls or encounter the mountain barrier so dreaded by the men. He set out on June 11, taking with him four men. Captain Clark, meantime, employed the others in dressing elkskins for the light canoes and in caching the pirogue and all the luggage that could be spared, together with some provisions, tools, and powder,

to await the return journey. After three days' march, Captain Lewis' heart was gladdened by the roar of a distant waterfall, and from a point of high land he saw "the spray arrise above the plain like a collumn of smoke which would frequently dispear again in an instant caused I presume by the wind which blew pretty hard from the S.W." [27] Seven miles' rough walking brought him to the Great Falls of the Missouri. Shields was despatched down the river to direct Captain Clark to bring the party to this point, while Lewis, seating himself on a rock under the centre of the falls, surrendered himself to enjoyment of "this truly magnificent and sublimely grand object which has from the commencement of time been concealed from the view of civilized man." [28] The mighty rush of water was more to him than a natural wonder; it was the vindication of his foresight, the assurance that he was on the right trail to the mountain pass that should lead him to the Columbia.

The eighteen-mile portage round the Great Falls occupied a fortnight and seriously taxed the endurance of the men. A rude wagon was constructed for transporting the canoes and heavier luggage, sawed sections of cottonwood trees serving for wheels. Never was a more awkward cart trundled over a rougher road by human muscle. The improvised vehicle broke down again and again, and finally the load had to be transferred to the men's shoulders. Lewis spent the two weeks in making a full and exact description of Giant Spring, the Falls, and the ten miles of cataract above and below.

His word picture, together with Captain Clark's map, make up an account of the region that is still standard, notwithstanding the changes wrought by the Great Northern Railroad, the smelters, and the town of fifteen thousand inhabitants that render Great Falls a centre of prosperous industry.

Elk and buffalo were still abundant, and the hunters were engaged in bringing in game, jerking the meat for the mountain journey and tanning the skins for the covering of the iron boat frame. This was now set up and the hides carefully fitted on. Elk-skins were preferred because stronger and more durable than buffalo, and less liable to shrink. Having no tar to calk the seams, they used a composition of charcoal, beeswax, and buffalo tallow; but this unfortunately cracked off when the boat was placed in the water, and "the Experiment" that had cost so much time and labor was regretfully abandoned. The beeswax and tallow composition held to the untanned buffalo hides, and the captains were forced to the conclusion that these would have served the purpose better; but it was too late to make the change. The buffalo were fast retreating to the plains, the season was advancing, and the party must be over the divide before winter set in. Resort was had to the cottonwood, and two additional dugouts were manufactured. The men, meantime, had repaired their clothing and made new moccasins with double soles, calculated to resist the spines of the prickly pear.

It had been the original intention to send back a canoe from the Falls with journals, etc., to inform

the President of the safety of the party; but that was now thought unwise. "Not having seen the Snake Indians or knowing in fact whether to calculate on their friendship or hostility we have conceived our party sufficiently small and therefore have concluded not to dispatch a canoe with a part of our men to St. Louis as we had intended early in the spring."[29] The decision was a wise one, but the failure of the expected report occasioned Jefferson much anxiety.

On July 15 the canoes were launched in the upper Missouri, and the mountain journey was begun. The river wound through a narrow valley, well wooded and radiant with bloom. Sunflowers, wild cucumbers, and lambs-quarter covered the banks, while the levels were beset by the prickly pear, "one of the greatest beauties as well as the greatest inconveniences of the plains." Navigation grew laborious as the velocity of the current increased, and the men walked, to lighten the canoes. Parallel to the river ran an Indian road, evidently much used, and this it was hoped would guide them to the encampments of the Snake or Shoshone Indians. From these people Lewis expected to get horses and information as to the most practicable route; hence it was of the utmost importance neither to miss them nor to encounter their hostility. Horse tracks in the road, willow huts recently abandoned, and signal fires lighted to warn stragglers of the neighborhood of their inveterate foes, the Minnetarees, indicated that the Shoshones were not only near, but were on their guard. To prove that his people were white men and friends, Lewis directed that pieces of cloth,

linen, and paper be left along the trail. Captain Clark followed the road with three of the men, while the canoes were poled and towed through the picturesque cañon, then first seen by white men and appropriately named the Gates of the Rocky Mountains. Arrived at White Earth Creek, Sacajawea recognized the clay banks where her people were accustomed to come for the paint with which they tattooed the bodies of their braves, and she said that the Three Forks of the Missouri was at no great distance. This was the point of rendezvous where the canoes were to await the walking party. Lewis camped for several days at a spot where Sacajawea said she had been captured five years before, and explored the three rivers, which they named after the leading statesmen of that day, Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin; but although three Indian trails converged here, they failed to find the Shoshones.

On the thirtieth of July, Lewis took the road, leaving Clark, who was well-nigh exhausted, to bring on the canoe party. Travelling was laborious and slow by both canoe and trail. Beaver were extraordinarily abundant, damming the streams and diverting the water in a way that was sometimes inconvenient. The river was so tortuous that they had to travel twelve miles to make four, and they were in constant danger of capsize. Horses had become a necessity. Pushing on up the Jefferson, they passed streams which they named Philosophy, Wisdom, and Philanthropy, after the "cardinal virtues of that justly selibrated character" (names long since degraded to Willow Creek, Big Hole River, and

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Stinking Water). Lewis, determined to find the Indians at any cost, pressed on by forced marches to the Two Forks of the Jefferson (Beaverhead River). After a careful reconnoissance, he decided to take the south branch (Trail Creek), and followed it to its source in Lemhi Pass. Crossing the divide, they found a stream flowing to the west, "a creek of the Columbia" (Lemhi Creek or Lewis River). Here the jubilant pioneers camped for the night (August 12) and, building a fire of dry willow brush, cooked their last piece of pork. They were three thousand miles from the mouth of the Missouri and out of provisions, but happy with the prospect of success.

The next morning "very early," Lewis and his companions followed the Indian road down the valley of the Lemhi, hoping to come upon an Indian camp. They were soon rewarded by the sight of two women, a man, and some dogs, but the people ran away in terror. To disarm their suspicions and to get speech of them required all the diplomacy of which Lewis was master. Some women were finally persuaded, by presents of beads and vermilion paint, to lead the white men to their camp. Cameahwait, their chief, was induced to smoke the pipe of peace, and a United States flag was presented to him as an emblem of alliance. The hungry travellers were then feasted on cakes made of dried berries, the only food in the lodge, and the important business of securing horses and guides was undertaken.

Cameahwait feared that the strangers might be in league with his dreaded foes, the Minnetarees; but Lewis assured him that they were an advance guard

of a large party of white men who had crossed the mountains to find the road by which to bring the Shoshones arms and merchandise in trade, that the rest of the party were now waiting on the Jefferson River, and that he could prove the truth of this statement by accompanying them back to the Forks. To this proposal the chief assented, and set out next day accompanied by eight warriors. The success of the negotiations now depended on the prompt arrival of the main party. Lewis reached the Forks on the sixteenth to find no trace of Clark. Cameahwait's suspicions were allayed with difficulty, while Drewyer was despatched down the river to hasten the coming of the canoes. Captain Clark's party came in sight next day, and the fears of the Shoshones were set at rest, once for all, by the appearance of Sacajawea. In true fairy tale fashion, Cameahwait recognized her as his long-lost sister, and she was welcomed to the tribe with every token of joy and affection. Henceforth the Shoshones were ready to serve the white men to the extent of their ability.

The chief wealth of the Shoshones was in their horses. Cameahwait's tribe possessed some seven hundred, as well as a few mules which were prized even more highly. Both horses and mules were secured by trade with the Spaniards, from whose settlements they were ten days distant *via* the Yellowstone route.[30] Cameahwait complained bitterly that the Spaniards would sell no guns, and that they were defenceless against the Minnetarees, who were supplied by the British factors and there-

fore invincible. The Shoshones were no less warlike by nature. "If we had guns, instead of hiding ourselves in the mountains and living like bears on roots and berries, we would then go down and live in the buffalo country in spite of our enemies, whom we never fear when we meet them on equal terms."

Lemhi Pass is comparatively easy of access, but it leads to some of the most difficult territory in the Rocky Mountains. Cameahwait drew on the ground a map of the mountain chains and rivers that lay between his country and that of the Chopunnish (Nez Perces), and said they had told him that the streams he knew flowed into a river that "ran a great way toward the seting sun and finally lost itself in a great lake of water which was illy taisted, and where the white men lived." [31] The Indians reported the mountain streams so dangerous for canoes and so difficult of navigation that it was evident the luggage must be transferred to pack horses. Thirty-two animals were purchased at a cost of one hundred dollars in trinkets, and pack saddles were put together out of oar handles and rawhide. An old man who knew more of the region than any other Shoshone was engaged as guide, and on August 30 the expedition set out in quest of the Pacific. The two weeks' sojourn had given the men time to recruit their strength and to repair their moccasins and deerskin clothing. Little food had been accumulated, for deer and mountain goats, the only game in the mountains, were scarce and shy. The Indians had nothing to eat but salmon, berries, and

roots, dried for winter use, and were about to migrate to the buffalo ranges on the upper Missouri. There was plenty of trout and mullet in the creeks, but to supply so large a party with so small a fish required more time than the approach of winter allowed, and they were forced to depend on the pork, flour, and parched corn brought out from St. Louis. The Indians having assured them that the route directly west, along the Salmon and Snake rivers, was too rough to be practicable for horses, the party followed the guide, "over the worst road that ever was travelled," back across the divide directly north by the Nez Perces Pass to a branch of the Bitter Root River which they called Clark's in honor of the second in command. On September 3 the first snow fell, a plain warning that delay was dangerous. Yet they were obliged to halt two days at Traveller's Rest Creek (Lou Lou Fork) in order to rest, mend their moccasins and collect food, their scant store of provisions being almost exhausted. The utmost efforts of the four hunters could not feed the company, however, and they were forced to have recourse to the colts, three of which had followed the horses.

Lolo Pass led them from the Bitter Root Valley to the Kooskooskee, the south fork of the Clearwater River. They were now on the Columbia watershed, but travel was increasingly difficult. The mountains overhung the river, and the road, often covered with snow, was only "a narrow, rockey path generally on the side of [a] steep precipice, from which in many places if e[i]ther man or horse were precipitated they would inevitably be dashed in pieces." Horses and

men were suffering for lack of food. The record for September 18 reads: "We took a small quantity of portable soup, and retired to rest much fatiegued. several of the men are unwell of the disentary."[32] Captain Clark pushed ahead in the quest of game and arrived on September 20 at an encampment of Nez Perces. The Shoshone guide could not speak their language, but by signs he made them understand the friendly intentions of the white men and their famished state. The Indians offered what food they had, some jerked buffalo meat, dried salmon, berries, and roots, "all of which we eate hartily."[33] Clark succeeded in buying some of this food to send back to Lewis and his men, who had exhausted their provisions and were reduced to crow's flesh. The unaccustomed luxury of sufficient food made them all ill. Even the captains were thrown out of commission for a few hours; but they cheerfully dosed one another and the men with Rush's pills, and were soon fit for travel. Twisted Hair, the Chopunnish chief, drew a map of the river on a white elkskin with a charred coal. According to this, they were still two days' journey from the point where the Kooskooskee emptied into the Snake River and seven days' from the great river that flowed from the northwest; thence it was five days by boat to the falls where the whites came to trade. The junction of the Kooskooskee and Snake rivers was reached on the twenty-seventh, and there all the able-bodied men set to work building the canoes that were to transport them to the sea. The horses were branded and left in charge of

Twisted Hair, while the saddles and part of the ammunition were cached for the return journey.

The Columbia itself was not reached till October 16. The down-stream voyage in the canoes was luxurious after the four months of strenuous mountain travel, and relaxation came none too soon, for nearly all the men were ill. The only serious difficulty still to be encountered was scarcity of food and fuel. Dogs, purchased of the Flathead Indians, made more wholesome eating than dried fish and roots, but the lack of fire-wood often occasioned real suffering. Fortunately the salmon season was at hand, and the Indians from far and near had come to lay in their winter food. Their lodges and fish-flakes were frequently seen along the shore, and plenty of fresh salmon was to be had for a song. In spite of rapids and sand bars, the canoes made from thirty to forty miles a day. On October 19 they came in view of a snow-clad peak to the west which they rightly surmised to be the mountain named St. Helens by Vancouver. On the twenty-third they portaged round "the Great Falls," called *Timm* by the Indians in imitation of the rushing torrent.

Below the Great Falls, a new type of Indians, the Escheloots, were in possession. They dwelt in houses built of split timber, wove baskets of cedar roots, and wore well-made garments of skin. Their trade with the Skilloots of the lower river had supplied them with British muskets and kettles and the cast-off clothing of British sailors. One brave cut a ridiculous figure in a pea-jacket and a round hat beneath which he wore his hair in a queue. The

dangerous passage of the Dalles was made in the canoes, to the astonishment of the natives, to whom the expertness and daring of Cruzatte were a marvel. On the first of November they portaged round the Great Shoot or Cascades and launched their boats in tide-water at last. The banks of the lower Columbia and the slopes of the mountains were well wooded with pine, spruce, white oak, cottonwood, and alder, and there was no longer any scarcity of fuel. Game and wild fowl were abundant. Canvasback duck and red char were the delicacies with which these way-worn travellers were regaled on their voyage down the river. Indian villages were frequent, and the trading canoes of the Skilloots were passing to and from the Great Shoot. The mountain tribes had been timid, but hospitable and honest. The Skilloots proved to be altogether too familiar with white men, and their overtures were even annoying. "We soon found them to be very assuming and disagreeable companions." They stole whatever they could lay their hands on, even the pipe which they were smoking in token of amity. Association with the traders had demoralized the Coast Indians, and it was necessary to impress them with the necessity of keeping their distance.

The Cascade Range once passed, the dry air of the mountains gave way to fog and rain. On the seventh of November, the spirits of the party were greatly cheered by the sound of distant breakers, the tumultuous uproar made by the tide as it meets the outflowing current, — the terrible bore at the mouth of the Columbia. The much-desired Pacific

gave them a most inhospitable welcome. The canoes, not built for rough water, were tossed about like corks in the waves, and the little flotilla was obliged

THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

to put ashore at the first feasible landing. A narrow beach with overhanging bluffs barely gave them room to draw themselves and their luggage free from the surf, and a south wind drove the driftwood over the water-logged canoes. After spending the night in safeguarding their belongings, the men were glad to move. A second camp, ten miles farther on, proved somewhat safer, though no less uncomfortable. A high west wind, continuous rain, and heavy surf held them storm-bound here from November 16 to 25. Meantime, the two leaders were exploring both banks of the river for a point of high ground, accessible to wood, fresh water, and game, and suitable for a winter camp. Not till the eighth of December was the location decided upon, but the excellence of the site justified the delay. On a little river flowing into Meriwether's Bay (later Young's)

about three hundred feet back from the Columbia and thirty feet above the level of the high tides, in a grove of lofty pines, they determined to erect their fort. Here were built seven cabins and a storehouse, and a strong palisade surrounding all. A secondary camp was established on the near-by coast, where a detachment of men was employed in the manufacture of salt. They moved from the leaky tents into the huts on the twenty-fourth, and Christmas Day was celebrated by a very light-hearted company.

Fort Clatsop seemed to be as well built and as well provided with the necessities of life as Fort Mandan; but the contrast between a camp in the dry cold of North Dakota and one at sea level, under the sway of the Japanese Current, soon became evident. The journals record rain, rain, rain, day after day. In the five months spent at the mouth of the Columbia, there were but twelve days free from rain. The effect upon the health of the party soon became apparent. Working and sleeping in soaked leather clothing, a week at a time, the men sickened and grew discouraged. The salt makers gave out first, but they succeeded in putting by twelve gallons of salt for the return journey before the works were abandoned. The Clatsop Indians of the coast were a demoralized set. Smallpox had ravaged their villages in 1775 and 1800, and familiarity with the whites had broken down their native virtues. They were amazingly shrewd at a bargain, and were ready to sell anything, from wappatoo to women, to the highest bidder. In spite of their friendly bearing, the commander,

assured that their fidelity was not to be depended on, ordered the men to be always on their guard against treachery. The Indians were never allowed within the fort in large numbers, and they were regularly excluded at night. The men were kept busy indoors dressing elkskins and fashioning the clothing that was to serve for the return journey, and Gass records that they made three hundred and thirty-eight pairs of "mockasons," for their own use and to trade with the Indians. The captains employed the long winter months in making careful studies of the race traits and customs of the Indians, and in compiling minute descriptions of the fauna and flora of the region; but to the men, the depressing weather and comparative inactivity were more trying than the hardships of that forced march across the mountains. They suffered much from rheumatism and general debility, and, though they were systematically dosed with Rush's and Scott's pills, saltpetre, sage tea, and laudanum, they did not readily recover tone. So many had not been ill at one time since leaving Woods River. Toward the end of February, the hunters reported that elk were retreating to the mountains some nine or ten miles to the eastward, a distance to which it was practically impossible to follow them through the dense forest and bring the meat back to camp. This was most unwelcome news, "for poor and inferior as the flesh of this animal is, it is our principal dependence for subsistence." The flagging strength of the men required better food than the dried salmon and wappatoo roots,

which was all the Indians had to sell. The record for February 26 reads: "We have three days' provisions only in store, and that of the most inferior dryed elk, a little tainted. A comfortable prospect for good living!" On March 5 there was no more elk meat, fresh or dried, and but two days' supply of other food. The captains began to discuss the advisability of breaking camp and moving slowly up the river, procuring subsistence by the way.

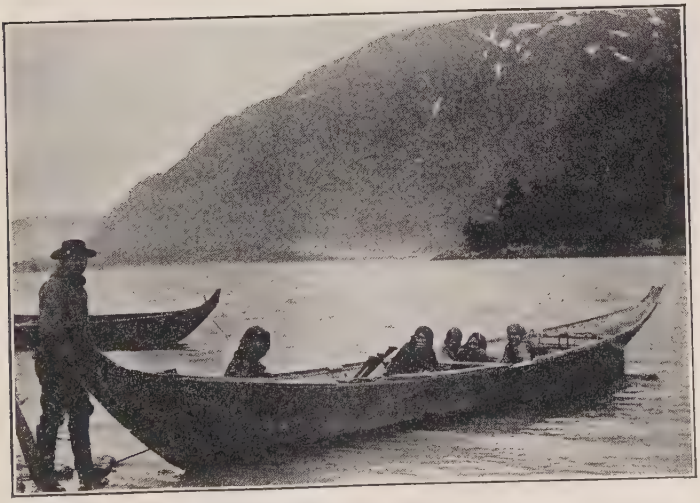
Just this emergency had not been foreseen. Jefferson had provided Lewis with letters of credit that might be drawn against the president of the United States in any part of the world; but they were of no avail to entice elk from the mountains and could not be converted into food and clothing and goods for the Indian barter until the arrival of the trading vessels, and these did not usually put into the Columbia before April. The government should have sent a supply ship to meet the expedition at the mouth of the Columbia, but such a measure might have entailed international complications. By the end of March the situation had become intolerable, and they only awaited suitable weather to set out for the mountains. Lewis' journal states (March 20), "We have accomplished every object which induced our remaining at this place except that of meeting with the traders who visit the entrance of this river. . . . It would have been very fortunate for us had some of those traders arrived previous to our departure from hence, as we should then have had it in our power to obtain an addition to our stock of merchandize which would have made our home-

ward bound journey much more comfortable." [34] Their stock in trade was indeed lamentably reduced. All the small articles, says Lewis, "might have been tied up in two handkerchiefs." There were, beside, half a dozen blue and scarlet robes, Captain Clark's artillery coat and hat, five robes made of the United States flag, and some ribbons. Little enough to pay their way back to St. Louis!

With great difficulty they secured two of the Indian canoes, which, with the three pirogues, served to accommodate the party. The price paid for one of these beautiful boats, equal in value to a wife in Clatsop estimation, was Captain Lewis' uniform laced coat and half a carotte of tobacco. "I think," says the despoiled owner, "the U'States are indebted to me another Uniform coat, for that of which I have disposed on this occasion was but little woarn." [35] A rostrum of the party was posted at the fort with a brief statement of the objects and achievements of the expedition and a sketch of the connection between the upper branches of the Missouri and the Columbia rivers and of the route by which they proposed to return. Several copies of the statement were left with the Indians, in the expectation that one might fall into the hands of some trader and so find its way back to the United States. Two at least of the French *voyageurs* elected to remain with the Clatsops. Philip Degré and Louis Rivet took to themselves Indian wives and built cabins on French Prairie, an open meadow on the Willamette River.

If Lewis' party had been able to hold out a fortnight longer, they would have been relieved. Jewitt's

Indian Tepees on the Columbia River.



Indian Canoes on the Columbia River.

Narrative records that the *Lydia* of Boston, the ship by which he was rescued, put into the Columbia in April, 1806. "When about ten miles up the river at a small Indian village, we learned from the inhabitants that Captains Lewis and Clark from the United States of America had been there about a fortnight before, on their journey overland, and had left several medals which they showed us." Captain Hill carried away one of the written statements; but since he was bound for Canton, his news did not reach the United States until January, 1807. Oddly enough, on the very day (March 14, Old Style) that the captains broke camp, de Resanoff's ship, the *Neva*, attempted to run into the Columbia, but was prevented by the sudden shifting of the wind from northwest to southeast. Von Langsdorff entered Gray's Bay in a *bidarka* and saw the smoke of the Indian villages, but had no communication with the inhabitants.

All arrangements being complete and the weather partially clearing, the canoes started up the Columbia on March 25. The Multnomah (Willamette), unnoticed hitherto, was explored by Captain Clark for a few miles to the falls and a map of this river secured from an aged Indian. From the point where the city of Portland now stands, Clark descried four snow-covered peaks — Jefferson, Hood, St. Helens, and Adams. Mt. Rainier he does not seem to have distinguished from St. Helens, with which it lies almost in line. "At this place I think the width of the river may be stated at 500 yards and sufficiently deep for a Man of war or ship of any

burthen." [36] In spite of the pilfering propensities of the Falls Indians, the luggage was safely portaged round the Cascades, but one of the pirogues was lost. At the Dalles, the current proved too strong for navigation. The boats were therefore exchanged for horses enough to carry the luggage, and the journey pursued by land. The dry, pure air of the plains proved very invigorating, and the invalids rapidly recovered. The party was most hospitably received by the Wallah-wallahs, and here additional horses and a dozen dogs were purchased for crossing the mountains. Captain Clark was able to defray the expenses of the journey by his medical services to the natives. Broken arms and sore eyes and skin diseases were the ailments treated by this empirical physician.

On Chopunnish (Touchet) River they came upon Twisted Hair and found, to their relief, that the horses left with him were in good condition. Sixty-five animals, the pack-saddles, and the ammunition were recovered without difficulty from this honorable chief, and a stock of dogs and Indian bread was accumulated. The party had come to consider dogs' flesh very good eating, more nutritious than elk or salmon. In the mountains the situation was far more difficult. The Indians themselves had exhausted their winter supply of provisions, and could offer little more than dried roots, a diet that made the men ill. Recourse was again had to horse-flesh, and the colts proved not bad provender, yet the march up the Kooskooskee was seriously hampered by lack of food. The hunters went so far afield as to be in frequent

danger of being lost, yet brought in nothing but pheasants and a sand-hill crane. All hope of laying in dried meat for the journey across the mountains had to be abandoned, and the stock in trade was divided among the men, that each might purchase roots at his own discretion.

The snow lay deep, but the Indian guides kept the road so skilfully that wherever the ground appeared, the track was clearly discerned. The caches were found in good condition, and the supplies of powder, salt, and medicine fortunately reënforced. At Traveller's Rest Creek, beyond the Bitter Root Range, the party divided. Captain Lewis, with nine men, undertook to cross the divide by the usual Indian trail over Lolo Pass to Medicine River and the Great Falls, for the purpose of exploring Maria's River and ascertaining whether it might not afford a practicable trade route to the Saskatchewan. The remaining men and Chaboneau's family went with Captain Clark by way of the Big Hole or Gibbons Pass to the Wisdom River, and thence down the Jefferson and up the Gallatin to the Yellowstone and the Missouri. A better plan to render the return trip serviceable to fuller knowledge of the region could hardly have been devised. The two parties were to reunite at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Once on the buffalo ranges east of the mountains, all danger of starvation was at an end. Clark undertook to shorten his road by striking directly across from Clark's (Salmon River) to the head of Wisdom River, the practicability of the route being indicated by buffalo paths and Indian trails. The other party,

meantime, had no difficulty in reaching the Great Falls, whence Lewis set out to explore the Maria's. Gass and Ordway, with six men, he sent to White Bear Island to build canoes, with instructions to start down the Missouri in case he himself did not return by the first of September. Lewis, with Drewyer and the two Fields, set out on horseback directly north. They had got to Battle River, within one hundred and fifty miles of the British trading post (as far as where the town of Cut Bank now stands) when they fell in with the dreaded Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie, and were forced to turn back. These treacherous miscreants attempted to steal the guns and horses, and in the scuffle that ensued, in spite of Lewis' endeavor to avoid bloodshed, two of the Indians were killed. To avoid meeting the larger band, as well as to warn Ordway's party of the neighborhood of hostile Indians, the four men mounted their horses and rode at a desperate pace to the mouth of Maria's River, one hundred and twenty-five miles to the southeast. There they arrived in safety on July 28, a full week before they were expected; but the canoes were fortunately ready, and the whole force embarked immediately and thus avoided farther difficulty. They overtook Clark's contingent on August 12 at the junction of the Missouri with the Yellowstone, and here two hunters — Dickson and Hancock of the Illinois country — joined the party, intending to accompany them as far as the Mandans.

The voyage to St. Louis was uneventful. The canoes made from eighty-five to one hundred miles a day, and the mosquitoes were the only serious foes

encountered. At the Mandan villages they purchased a supply of corn and dried squash with beaver skins taken on the Yellowstone for this purpose. There they left Chaboneau and the faithful Sacajawea and picked up a deputation of Indian chiefs — Minnetarees and Mandans — who were to visit Washington. Several trading parties were pushing up the river, eager to profit from the new fur regions revealed by the explorers. John Colter, one of Lewis' men, obtained permission to return with them as guide to the Yellowstone country. Early in September, the party reached the first white settlements and noticed that there had been a marked increase during their two years' absence. The sight of cows grazing on the bank caused the men to raise a shout of joy. At La Charette, they fired a salute and, landing, were received with all courtesy by the inhabitants. "Every person, both French and americans seem to express great pleasure at our return, and acknowledged themselves much astonished in seeing us return. they informed us that we were supposed to have been lost long since, and were entirely given out by every person" [37] except the president. The night of the twenty-first was spent at St. Charles; the twenty-second, with a cantonment of United States troops on Coldwater Creek. On the morning of the twenty-third, the expedition "decended to the Mississippi and down that river to St. Louis at which place we arrived about 12 o'Clock. we suffered the party to fire off their pieces as a Salute to the Town. we were met by all the village and received a harty welcome from it's inhabitants, &c." [38] The two captains im-

mediately ordered civilized garments, that they might be equipped for polite society. On the twenty-fifth they paid some formal calls and attended a dinner and a ball given in their honor. The final record for September 26 states, "We commenced wrighting"; apparently the journals were now elaborated from the rough notes taken *en route*.

Lewis' first concern was to secure adequate compensation for the men who had so faithfully followed his lead. They were rewarded by a generous grant of bounty lands in addition to their arrears of pay; but the journals state that most of the men disposed of their claims within ten days. They preferred hunting to farm life. Clark was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, a most suitable position and one which he ably filled for many years. In one capacity or another he administered justice in Louisiana Territory until 1824. His wide knowledge of the Indian tribes, their languages and customs, and his reputation for decision and courage, gave him great influence everywhere on the frontier. His word was law with the Indians, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, while his fearless integrity made him the terror of evil-doers, both red and white. Lewis' later career was not so fortunate. He was immediately appointed governor of Louisiana Territory, a post for which his experience at Washington as well as his knowledge of the Missouri country rendered him eminently fit. Summoned to Washington in 1809, he was journeying thither on horseback along the Natchez Trace, when he met with a violent death at Grinder's Stand, a rough frontier inn in the Chickasaw

country. Jefferson accepted the statement of Grinder's wife that her distinguished guest shot himself in the night, and he cited a tendency to fits of depression as adequate explanation of the act. But nothing short of mental aberration could account for suicide on the part of a man who was returning home to an aged mother and many friends, and who had every reason to expect an appreciative reception both from his friend and patron Jefferson and from the government officials; who had, moreover, still to perform a highly important task — the editing of those journals that were to give to the world the full results of the most successful expedition yet achieved by an American explorer. Quite another story was currently believed by the settlers along the Natchez trail. Grinder's reputation for rascality was such that they made no doubt he had killed Lewis for the money he carried.

Pike; Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi

No less significant for the future of the fur trade was the expedition to the head waters of the Mississippi carried through by Lieutenant Z. M. Pike under the auspices of the War Department, — August 9, 1805, to April 30, 1806. The voyage up the Father of Waters was by no means so difficult as the ascent of the Missouri. A keel boat was used to Prairie du Chien and there exchanged for a flat-bottomed bateau [39] which transported the party to the Falls of St. Anthony, and thence a light barge, more practicable for the portages, was used as far as Little Falls. Here the bulk of the party was left in winter camp,

while Pike and two men pushed on with canoes and sledges over the seven hundred miles between this point and Cass Lake. He found the North West Company in full possession of the beaver grounds of Minnesota. They had trading posts at Sauk Rapids, Sandy Lake, and Leach Lake, whence they transported the furs by easy carries to Lake Superior and Montreal.

PIKE'S MISSISSIPPI EXPEDITION, 1805–6.

Their Indian trade extended as far south as Prairie du Chien, while their bateaux descended the Mississippi to St. Louis and New Orleans. On the river St. Peters, Murdoch Cameron was prosecuting an independent business.

It was an important part of Pike's mission to assert the authority of the United States in this border country and to enforce the regulations in respect to the fur trade. The law of 1786 required that every trader should obtain a license from the territorial authorities, and imposed heavy penalties for the sale of liquor to the Indians. Jay's treaty (1794) permitted British subjects to trade within American territory so long as they conformed to the law, but their influence over the Indians was thought to be dangerous. It was to keep these British agents in check and to convince the aborigines of the good-will and resources of the United States that Congress had indorsed the policy of maintaining government trading posts at strategic points along the Canadian frontier —such as Fort Wayne, Detroit, and Chicago—where goods were sold at cost and furs received at fair and even liberal prices. Pike recommended that such factories be established at the mouth of the Ouisconsing, at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the St. Peters, and on the St. Louis River at the head of Lake Superior, in the belief that the trade *via* the Mississippi, the Red River of the North, and the Great Lakes might thus be brought under control. The representative of the United States government made it his business to see that the laws were enforced. Finding that Murdoch Cameron "had taken liquor and sold it to the Indians on the river St. Peters, and that his partner below had been equally imprudent, I pledged myself to prosecute them according to law; for they have been the occasion of great confusion and of much injury to the other traders." [40] When

La Jeunesse was detected in the same underhand practice, this energetic disciplinarian sent him the restrictions in writing and demanded his license. The accused could show only a tax certificate indicating that he had paid the required fee on the goods sold in Indiana territory.

With the representatives of the North West Company, our young lieutenant was no less firm. This ambitious association had pushed its commerce from Athabasca to the head of Lake Superior and across the St. Louis River portage to the rich beaver country about the sources of the Mississippi. While maintaining the most cordial relations with the factors, Pike insisted that they should respect the authority of the United States and abstain from distributing British medals among the Indians and disseminating among them ideas hostile to the rightful government. At Sandy Lake, the famished explorers were received by Mr. Grant (agent for Mr. Dickson of Sauk Rapids) in his very comfortable quarters and treated to a sumptuous repast of bread, tea, and fresh venison; but the British flag was floating over the fort, and Pike could not forbear a protest. "I felt indignant, and cannot say what my feelings would have excited me to do, had he not informed me that it belonged to the Indians. This was not much more agreeable to me."[41] At Leech Lake, Hugh McGillis, of the North West Company, was no less hospitable. The wayworn traveller "had a good dish of coffee, biscuit, butter, and cheese for supper," and was entertained for the fortnight (February 1–12) of his stay; but no considerations of

courtesy could deter Pike from asserting the sovereign rights of his government. "Mr. McGillis asked if I had any objections to his hoisting their [British] flag in compliment to ours. I made none, as I had not yet explained to him my ideas." [42] A few days later (February 10), however, the record reads: "Hoisted the American flag in the fort. The English yacht [jack] still flying at the top of the flagstaff, I directed the Indians and my riflemen to shoot at it. They soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground." [43] Against this exhibition of frontier diplomacy, McGillis had nothing to say. During his sojourn at Leech Lake, Lieutenant Pike drew up a careful statement in writing of the limitations under which a foreign trader might operate within the boundaries of the United States, and McGillis accepted the justice of his rulings. Pike stipulated that British traders coming into United States territory were amenable to the jurisdiction of our government. They must obtain licenses of our agents, pay duties at the frontier on goods imported from Europe (this would have amounted to $13,000 in 1806), abstain from giving or selling liquor to Indians, from distributing British flags and medals to the natives, and from flying the British flag over forts. These measures were calculated to put the Americans on a par with the British traders and to check the southward extension of the North West Company's operations.[44] On the downstream voyage, the expedition frequently encountered traders from St. Louis coming up the river in barges, bateaux and dugout canoes, eager to avail them-

selves of the new opportunities opened up by the explorers.

Pike's expedition had no lasting influence however. Congress and the men of the East were preoccupied in the contest with Great Britain that culminated in the War of 1812. The fur trade of the Mississippi continued to be exploited by the North West Company, which maintained posts at Mackinac, Fond du Lac, and Prairie du Chien. The Union Jack floated at the latter post until 1815.

CHAPTER III

THE FUR TRADE

Section I

Government Control vs. *Laissez-faire*

Spanish Policy. — During the Spanish occupation of Louisiana Territory the fur trade was prosecuted, although under heavy handicaps, along the Missouri, Osage, and Kansas rivers. The firm of Maxent, Laclede & *Cie.*, chartered by the French intendant in 1762, continued to carry on business from St. Louis throughout the Spanish régime. Other lesser houses were granted licenses to trade in restricted areas, on terms varying with the state of the market.[1] Permits were put up at auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The small trader, who had usually offered more than the normal yield of his district, was forced to make good his obligations to the governor and to the merchants of New Orleans by extortionate dealings with the Indians from whom the furs were purchased. Goods were sold them at exorbitant prices, liquor and firearms were offered as the most enticing bait, and the unbusinesslike redman was tricked into the trader's debt by the credit system. Supplies for the winter's hunt were furnished with the stipulation that the advance be repaid in skins the following spring. The unsophisticated Indians regarded these advances as tribute

given for permission to pass through their territories unharmed. They brought the trader such furs as they could spare, to induce him to return with another cargo of goods, but they did not understand the necessity of balancing accounts. Any attempt to force a fulfilment of obligations was met by reprisals. Having the advantage of superior numbers, the braves attacked the trading posts, plundering and maltreating the unlucky occupants. They had little fear of destroying the trade that brought them the much coveted fire-water and blankets; for one trader ruined, a new man was sure to appear, with wares even more alluring. The Missouri tribes were wont to say: "The white men are like dogs, the more you beat them and plunder them, the more goods they will bring you, and the cheaper they will sell them." [2] Occasionally, when their outrages passed all bounds, when some man of importance was killed or some frontier settlement attacked, the governor would sally forth on a punitive expedition; but the slow-moving Spanish force was no match for the cunning of the natives. The only effect was to deepen their contempt for the white man's authority. The war, notwithstanding, was reported to Madrid with due solemnity, and the expenses charged to the king's treasury at several times the actual cost. Under a government so demoralized by "graft," no business could flourish. Manuel Lisa, who had enjoyed the monopoly of trade on the Osage River under the Spanish administration, wrote General Clark (1817) of his satisfaction in the change of masters: "I have suffered enough in person and property,

under a different government, to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live." [3]

The Spanish governors could not even protect their licensees against foreign interlopers. British traders from Montreal despatched their bateaux down the Mississippi and up the St. Peters and Desmoines rivers, quite undisturbed by the cumbrous galleys sent to intercept them; and rich cargoes of furs, collected at their trading mart, Prairie du Chien, passed up the Wisconsin and Illinois portages every spring.

British Fur Traders

The policy of the British government had always been to foster this pioneer industry without regard to public revenue. The Hudson's Bay Company, through its century-old monopoly of trade on all waters emptying into its ice-guarded sea, had waxed stronger than the colonial government and enjoyed sovereign powers within its vast territory. Exempt from the fear of competition, its policy had been to send no more furs to European markets than the condition of trade might warrant and to husband the resources of Prince Rupert's Land for future generations of merchant adventurers. Factories were built at convenient points where navigable rivers emptied into the bay, and the Indians were taught to bring their season's catch to these depots, to which the goods for trade were brought direct from London. By this system the heavy costs of river transportation were met by the redmen, and the whites were spared the labor and the risks of voyages into the interior. Under the guns of the forts, moreover, the factor had

the Indians completely in control. Intoxicating liquors and firearms were withheld, and the demoralization of the natives prevented. Since the fur-laden canoes could make their way down to the factory only in the months when the rivers were free from ice, the beaver meadows and deer parks were left undisturbed during the breeding season, a circumstance that meant much for the conservation of the industry. The dams and the young were free from molestation till the winter's hunt, so that the propagation of each season made good the season's kill, and the skins were taken only when the fur was in prime condition. The Hudson's Bay Company had authority to expel from its territory all unlicensed traders and persons who were deemed prejudicial to peace. Its control of the market enabled it to carry out a policy of fixed prices and standard goods; its employees — factors, clerks, and *engagés* — were well paid and well fed. They were assured of continuous service and of provision against sickness and old age. The British government stipulated that an employee who had faithfully fulfilled his contracted term must be reëngaged or returned to his home. He might not be abandoned in the wilderness. The result was to attach to the Company's service a body of devoted men who had no other ambition than to deserve well of the great business organization to which they belonged.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the placid monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was rudely broken. The treaty of Paris opened the rich possibilities of the St. Lawrence River and the Great

Lakes to the Scotch merchants of Montreal. These upstarts sent their trading parties along the routes discovered by the French and reaped a rich harvest. Restrained by no licenses, regulations, or traditions, they intercepted the Indians on their way to the Hudson's Bay Company factories, offered them higher prices or more attractive goods — liquor and firearms if need be — and succeeded in wheedling away the stock of furs intended for the great company. To secure their season's complement of pelts, the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company were obliged to adopt the methods of their competitors. *Coureurs de bois* were despatched up the Albany and Nelson rivers and the lakes to which they lead, where they came into conflict with the unlicensed traders from Montreal. Bloody encounters followed. The rivals did not hesitate to rob and even murder one another in the prosecution of their business interests, and there was no authority strong enough to prevent. The fur trade rapidly degenerated into a lawless ruffianism in which the most unscrupulous carried off the spoils, in which the Indians were demoralized by the white man's worst vices, and all profits were swallowed up in the costs of armed defence.

At this melancholy juncture (1781) an epidemic of smallpox decimated the tribes, carrying off whole villages and putting a sudden stop to both hunt and trade. The merchants of Montreal, on the verge of ruin, determined to pool their interests. A combination was achieved in the years 1783–1805 which, under the name of the North West Company of Merchants

of Canada, organized the western fur trade anew and on a scale that overshadowed the great company of the north. The partners of the North West Company were for the most part Highland Scotch, men of strenuous strain and far more forceful and enterprising than the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. The business was organized on a profit-sharing basis that enlisted the best efforts of every man on the force, from chief factor to newly apprenticed clerk. The capital (£40,000 in 1788 and £125,000 in 1798) was furnished by the partners resident at Montreal. The personal contribution made by the wintering partners, whose headquarters were at the several posts, was regarded as a fair equivalent, so that to each one of the twenty to forty partners was accorded an equal share in the profits. Men entering the business must first serve a seven years' apprenticeship with a fixed salary; but they were sure of promotion more or less rapid in proportion to their skill and devotion, as evidenced in returns. The North West Company employed two thousand *voyageurs* at £40 per year and an equal number of free trappers and *coureurs de bois*, who were paid according to the number of skins brought in. The wages were high, but exorbitant charges for supplies brought most of the money back into the Company's coffers. Whiskey, for example, which cost $2 per gallon, was sold for $8 a quart, while the "Northwest currency" used throughout the fur country was reckoned at double the value of legal coin.

The Northwesters pursued the policy of carrying the trade to the Indian villages, but the trading par-

ties were provided with recruiting stations in a series of fortified posts along the lakes and rivers from Fort William at the southern end of the Grand Portage between Superior and Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountain House on the upper Saskatchewan. Alexander Mackenzie even projected a transcontinental trade. With the prestige of his overland expedition fresh upon him, he went to London to promote the establishment of a Fishery and Fur Company that should exploit the fur trade of Nootka Sound and the Columbia River and the whaling grounds of the Arctic Sea. Trading goods and supplies were to be sent from Montreal, while the skins and oil were to be shipped to the East India Company's factories in the Orient.[4] It was a daring proposition, quite beyond the conception of contemporary Londoners; moreover, the Hudson's Bay Company had sufficient influence at Westminster to defeat the project.

For a generation to come the Northwest Company swayed the destinies of the stretch of wilderness between the Great Lakes and the Pacific coast. In the relentless pursuit of wealth, they explored the rivers, traversed the plains, and planted new posts, and thus established trade relations with the remotest tribes. Fort Assiniboin, Fort Athabasca, the Rocky Mountain House, Fort Kootenai on the upper Columbia, Spokane House at the junction of the Spokane River with the Cœur d' Alene, marked the westward reach of the Scotch trader.

These operations brought the Northwesters into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company on the north and within the jurisdiction of the United States

government on the south. The boundary of the British dominions was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel by the treaty of 1794, and it became necessary to ascertain the precise limits of their hunting grounds. In 1798 David Thompson, a self-taught surveyor and geographer, was sent to determine the relative location of the North West Company's posts. Thompson had served his apprenticeship with the Hudson's Bay Company; but when ordered by his superiors to forego discovery and devote his time to the pursuit of furs, he transferred to the North West Company where exploration was encouraged. He had already mapped the Saskatchewan and Assiniboin rivers and found his way up the Souris to the Mandan villages when intrusted with this larger commission. He now followed the Red River of the North to the headwaters of the Mississippi, and ascertained that Fort Pembina on Red River and the trading establishments on Sandy and Leech lakes lay south of the proposed boundary and well within American territory. However, since the privileges of British traders were expressly conceded in the treaty, the posts were not removed. In 1805 Thompson again visited the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri and bespoke the friendly offices of that then important tribe.

The faults of the Northwesters — and faults they had in plenty — arose from excess of zeal. The factors, being partners and profit sharers, worked under the keenest incentive. Wherever they had to meet competition, they resorted to underhand methods. They had no scruple about rum selling, and the prices for

goods and furs were determined by the necessities of the situation. The *Journals* of Alexander Henry, the experienced factor of Fort Pembina, bear witness to the rapid deterioration of the natives under this reckless régime. The Assiniboins had no buffalo to hunt and were readily reduced to complete dependence upon the beaver trade. The annual journey to the factory being no longer required, they were able to trap through the summer,—the season when the fur was inferior. Thus the market was glutted with low-grade skins, while the animals were butchered, young and old, until the richest hunting grounds were exhausted.

The Hudson's Bay Company was forced to use similar methods or quit the field. Its traders were sent up the rivers to compete with the Northwesters, and posts were planted in the interior. The sale of liquor was permitted in the contested districts, and the Indians were cajoled or threatened by the rival traders until they lost their original respect for the British name. In defence of its prior claims to the Saskatchewan traffic, the North West Company did not scruple to use force, and posts were burned and traders murdered in that no-man's land under the shadow of the Rockies. The long warfare culminated in the struggle for possession of the Red River of the North. The Hudson's Bay Company undertook to found an agricultural colony in this fertile valley, the beaver being extinct, with a view to developing the latent resources of the territory. To this end a considerable grant of land (one hundred and sixteen thousand acres) south of Winnipeg was allowed by

Parliament to Lord Selkirk, a Scotch philanthropist who proposed emigration as a solution for the distressed peasants of the Highlands. A colony was sent out in 1812 with supplies and agricultural implements, and a promising beginning was made. But, unfortunately, the lands lay in the path of the North West Company. Its partisans attacked the settlement and scattered the colonists, burning and killing as if there were no law but their own interest. The home government was forced to interfere at last, and the only feasible solution, the consolidation of the two companies, was reached in 1821. The new Hudson's Bay Company was stronger than ever before, having undisputed monopoly of the fur trade throughout British America.

The American Policy

As early as 1796 Congress passed an act for the regulation of the Indian trade, restricting licenses to persons of good character and requiring heavy bonds for the observance of the law against the sale of liquor; but the law was never thoroughly enforced because the fur country was remote from official centres and evidence of infractions was difficult to obtain. Subsequent legislation considerably abated the rigor of the law. Fees and penalties were reduced, while the bond and the certificate of good character were altogether remitted. It was hoped that the maintenance of government factories at the several Indian posts where standard goods should be offered at reasonable prices and a fair rate paid for furs, would keep the private traders within bounds. One after

another, government stores were opened, as new and remoter regions were reached by the fur trade, — at Arkansas Post and Natchitoches and on the Sulphur Fork of Red River, Belle Fontaine at the mouth of the Missouri, Fort Osage, Marais des Cygnes, and Desmoines in the interior. The government official, however, found great difficulty in competing with the independent traders, whether British or American. He was handicapped by the requirement that supplies must be bought and goods sold in the home market, where goods were higher in price and inferior in quality to those of foreign manufacture and where the supply of furs was in excess of the demand and prices correspondingly low. Advances on credit were not permitted because the practice was thought to be pernicious, but without these advances the Indian could not start on the season's hunt. The government factor, moreover, was usually stationed at a post distant from the beaver meadows, and the hunters were expected to bring their catch to him. This they were not likely to do while the Northwesters and *coureurs de bois*, Scotch, French, and American, followed the tribe to the hunting grounds and offered them blankets, whiskey, and firearms on credit for the season's take. The plan adopted by the United States government was admirable, but its non-enforcement left private traders pretty much to their own devices.

Section II

The Fur Traders of St. Louis

Louisiana Territory was rich in furs. The mountain rivers, not only those traversed by Lewis and Clark, but the sources of the Platte and the Arkansas and the numerous streams that spring from that core of the continent, the Wind River range, abounded in beaver meadows. The aborigines placed little value on the pelts and were glad to trade such as they had for whiskey, firearms and gewgaws; but they could rarely be induced to engage in systematic trapping expeditions. A Northwester familiar with the Assiniboins complained that the Indians of the Missouri would not take the trouble to hunt for beaver. "They often remarked to me that they would think it a pleasure to supply us with beavers if they could be secured the same as buffaloes by a chase on horseback, but they considered the operation of searching for them in the bowels of the earth, to satisfy the avarice of the Whites, not only troublesome, but very degrading. 'White people,' said they, 'do not know how to live, they leave their houses in small parties, they risk their lives on the great waters, among strange nations, who will take them for enemies. What is the use of beaver? Do they make gun powder of them? Do they preserve them from sickness? Do they serve them beyond the grave?'" [5] In default of native hunters, the fur traders were obliged to employ white trappers.

The Great Plains from the Missouri to the Rio

Grande made one immense buffalo range. The herds migrated with the season from north to south, seeking out the water courses which furnished them food and drink and the salt licks of the open prairie. With them moved the bands of Indian hunters, who depended upon the buffalo for existence. Gregg, the Santa Fé trader, describes the havoc wrought among the herds. "This animal furnishes almost the exclusive food of the prairie Indians, as well as covering for their wigwams and most of their clothing; also their bedding, ropes, bags for their meat, &c.; sinews for bow-strings, for sewing moccasins, leggins, and the like." "The continual and wanton slaughter of them by travellers and hunters, and the still greater havoc made among them by the Indians, not only for meat, but often for the skins and tongues alone (for which they find a ready market among their traders), are fast reducing their numbers, and must ultimately effect their total annihilation." [6]

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the fur trade was the dominant industry of the Far West. The annual value of its operations at St. Louis rose from $200,000 to $300,000, and the returns netted the trader from fifteen to fifty per cent. Great fortunes were amassed in this business, until the animals upon which it thrived and the Indians who had served its ends vanished together from the vast regions exploited by its agents.

By its advantages of location, St. Louis was destined to be the primary market for the American fur trade. Lying at the confluence of the rivers

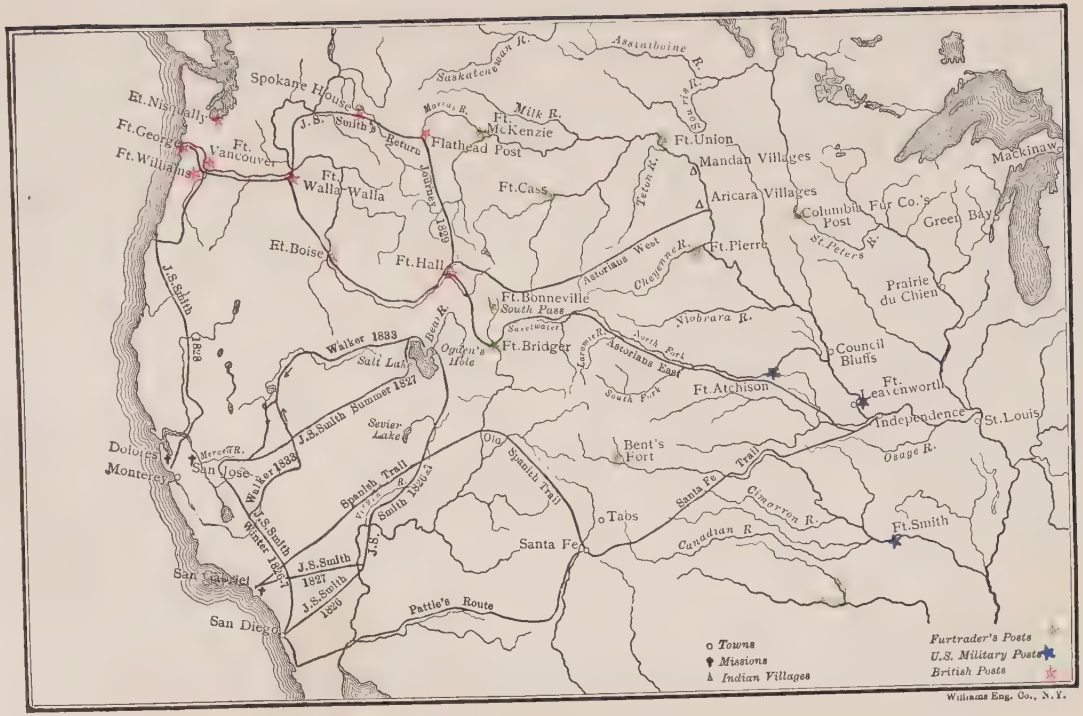
along whose reach lay the beaver haunts and the buffalo plains, all water transportation centered there. Thence, too, the Mississippi conveyed the precious packs to the fur merchants at New Orleans and by sea to the profitable markets of the east, or by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers to Green Bay, or *via* the Illinois and Chicago rivers to Lake Michigan, Detroit, Buffalo, and Montreal. Spring and fall, the wharves "under the hill" were thronged with craft bound to or from the Missouri: the keel boat of the licensed trader, laden with Indian goods for the out voyage; the Mackinaw or flat-bottom scow, weighted to the water's edge with packs of beaver and buffalo skins; the dugout canoe of the free trapper, who had paddled in from some nameless mountain or prairie stream with his season's catch of furs, robes, tallow, and buffalo meat.

During the great days of this industry the number of white men employed by the St. Louis traders grew from five hundred to one thousand. They were French or Spanish creoles, young *habitants* bent on adventure, Canadian *voyageurs* who had drifted down from the north, or American frontiersmen,—restless spirits like Daniel Boone whom the restraints of civilization had driven into the new wilderness beyond the Mississippi. Working as *engagés*, at a stipulated wage and keep, or as free trappers, relying on a competitive market to recompense them for the season's outlay, they spent their hard-earned money in drink and carousal,[7] and rarely realized more than a bare subsistence from a life of extraordinary hardship. Frenchmen, whether from Canada or Loui-

siana, made up three-fourths of the *engagés* on the Missouri. Gay and volatile, readily assimilating with the Indians, illiterate, unenterprising, content with the scantiest fare, they were the "cheerful slaves of the fur trade."[8] The Americans, on the other hand, hailing from Kentucky or the Illinois country or even from far Virginia, were blood-kin to the Long Knives. Resourceful, intelligent, courageous, and self-reliant, scorning subservience and prone to desert under discipline, they were always dependable for self-determined service and usually preferred the position of free trapper to that of a hireling. From this class the ranks of the traders were recruited. A shrewd employer was governed by these race traits in the assignment of labor. The Canadians were the boatmen and the dressers of skins and performed the menial duties of the camp or post. At trapping or fighting or seeking out new fields of enterprise, they were less to be relied on. If Astor judged rightly that in river service one Canadian was worth three Americans, it was no less true that in the wilderness one American was worth three Canadians.

No sooner were the fur traders of St. Louis assured, by the observations of Lewis and Clark, of the rich resources of the upper Missouri than they made preparations to reap the golden harvest. The first considerable expedition was fitted out by Manuel Lisa, a man of Spanish antecedents, whose experience on the Osage had given him intimate knowledge of the Indian character and customs. In the spring of 1807 he left St. Louis in a keel boat laden with goods.

His first assistant was the same George Drouillard whom Lewis had found so valuable as hunter and interpreter. At the mouth of the Platte, they met a white man descending alone in a canoe. He proved to be none other than the intrepid John Colter, returning from a rather disastrous experience on the Yellowstone. Lisa induced him to join the party and venture his life a third time in the wilderness. A vivid account of Lisa's outfit is given in Brackenridge's *Journal.* Brackenridge was a young lawyer from Pittsburgh who had begged the privilege of accompanying Lisa's party in order to see for himself the possibilities of the Louisiana Purchase. He describes with enthusiasm the keel boat, the *voyageurs*, and the equipment. "Our barge was the best that ever ascended this river, and manned with twenty stout oars-men. Mr. Lisa, who had been a sea-captain, took much pains in rigging his boat with a good mast, and main and topsail; these being great helps in the navigation of this river. Our equipage is chiefly composed of young men, though several have already made a voyage to the upper Missouri, [a feat] of which they are exceedingly proud, and on that account claim a kind of precedence over the rest of the crew. We are in all, twenty-five men, and completely prepared for defence. There is, besides, a swivel on the bow of the boat, which, in case of attack, would make a formidable appearance; we have also two brass blunderbusses in the cabin, one over my birth, and the other over that of Mr. Lisa. These precautions were absolutely necessary from the hostility of the



ROUTES OF THE FUR TRADERS.

Sioux bands, who, of late had committed several murders and robberies on the whites, and manifested such a disposition that it was believed impossible for us to pass through their country. The greater part of the merchandise, which consisted of stroud-ing, blankets, lead, tobacco, knifes, guns, beads, &c., was concealed in a false cabin, ingeniously contrived for the purpose; in this way presenting as little as possible to tempt the savages. But we hoped that as this was not the season for the wandering tribes to come on the river, the autumn being the usual time, we might pass by unnoticed." [9] Parties of traders were met coming down the river with the winter's catch of beaver and buffalo skins. They floated with the current on rafts made of "two canoes lashed together, and a platform raised upon them" [10] or in bull-boats such as the Indians used, a frame of willow boughs covered with buffalo skins, stretched tight and dried in the sun. They reported a pros-perous season and the Indians peaceably disposed. Lisa was none the less wary, and his precautions were not taken in vain. He was soon apprised that the Sioux had learned that a number of traders were ascending the Missouri and in consequence remained on the river instead of going into the plains as usual and were determined to let no boats pass. The operations of the initial year were highly satis-factory, however, and Lisa returned to St. Louis in the following spring with a rich cargo of furs.

For many years thereafter, this daring pioneer of the fur trade made annual trips up the Missouri, carrying goods for the Indians and supplies for the

trappers, wintering at one of his various posts, and returning in the spring with his fur-laden boats. His was the best known figure in the Missouri Territory, and to Indian and *voyageur* alike he was Uncle Lisa or, more familiarly, Uncle Manuel. With the facility of the Latin for bridging race barriers, he had married into the Omaha tribe and his policy was to treat the Indian as a human being. He thus explained his own success in fur trade: "First, I put into my operations great activity; I go a great distance, while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations; ten months in a year I am buried in the forest, at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, and not as the pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion, from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing one hundred and sixty pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year [1817] I have promised to carry the plough. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these nations, and the consequent choice of their trade." [11]

The Missouri Fur Company, the first American firm to enter this field, had for incorporators Manuel Lisa, the Chouteaus — Pierre Sr. and Auguste Jr. —

William Clark, Benjamin Wilkinson, and Andrew Henry; but the inspiring genius was Manuel Lisa. Its capital amounted to $40,000, and its operations were conducted on a scale hitherto unknown. In 1809, this company sent out a brigade of one hundred and fifty men, with abundant supplies. Trading stations were established among the Aricaras, Mandans, Minnetarees, and Crows, and a fortified post was built at the Three Forks of the Missouri in defiance of the hostile Blackfeet (1810). The trappers found plenty of beaver, but they worked at the risk of their lives. In three different onslaughts, twenty men were killed, among them George Drouillard. Before the summer was over, the main party returned to St. Louis, leaving Henry with a small guard at the post. He was driven by the Blackfeet across the divide to the north tributary of Snake River (called thereafter Henry's Fork). There he built a log fort and secured forty packs of beaver, but his little force well-nigh perished of cold and hunger. In the following spring, Henry made his way back to the Aricara Villages where he met Lisa and reported his misfortunes. It was then determined to abandon all the posts above the Mandan Villages and a new Fort Lisa was built at Council Bluffs.

Section III

Astoria

The Missouri Fur Company was made up of St. Louis men. Their jealousy of outside influence was evidenced in their refusal to sell stock to the New

York merchant, John Jacob Astor, who had bought out the Mackinaw Company and acquired complete ascendency in the Lake trade. This financial genius had discerned in the fur trade of Louisiana Territory a commercial opening of extraordinary promise, and he projected a scheme of operations that should eclipse the achievements of the Hudson's Bay Company. He made overtures to the North West Company as well as to the St. Louis house, but failing to secure coöperation, he entered the field as a remorseless competitor. The American Fur Company was chartered in 1808 as a holding corporation through which were to be managed Astor's several undertakings in this line. The depot of supplies for the Indian trade and the central accounting house were in New York; but the principal trading establishments were to be at Mackinaw, the old-time market of the Lake tribes, and St. Louis, the point of departure for the Missouri River traffic. Astor projected nothing less than a transcontinental and trans-Pacific trade route. Posts were to be located at strategic points along the trail blazed by Lewis and Clark, and a seaport at the mouth of the Columbia. Supplies and goods suited to the Indian trade were to be shipped from New York round the Horn and deposited at Astoria. An agreement was negotiated with Baranoff whereby Astor's ships were to carry supplies to the Russian posts, receiving in exchange the furs which American vessels could convey direct to Chinese ports. The shiploads of furs were there to be traded for tea and spices, silks and nankeens, goods that would bring a high profit

in the New York market at the end of the return voyage.

For the prosecution of this brilliant enterprise, a subsidiary company was formed, the Pacific Fur Company. The capital of $400,000 was furnished by Mr. Astor, who assumed all financial risks. The personal risks were to be borne by the ten active members of the firm. These were for the most part experienced traders, drawn from the ranks of the North West Company and attached to the new association by the hope of profits, but Scotchmen and British subjects.[12] Astor's object in choosing so many Northwesters as partners was to secure men who knew the Rocky Mountains at first hand and who, being Canadians, would give less umbrage to Great Britain. Among his acquaintance in Montreal he easily found traders who were disaffected in the North West Company's service and ready to risk something in a new venture. They undertook to go out to the Columbia and prosecute the business to the best of their ability for half profits. Two expeditions were made ready, a vessel to carry men and supplies by sea and an overland party to ascertain the best sites for trading posts. In September, 1810, the *Tonquin*, Captain Jonathan Thorn, sailed from New York with thirty-three passengers, — four partners (Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougall, and David and Robert Stuart), five clerks, five mechanics, and fourteen Canadian *voyageurs*. Captain Thorn proved to be a martinet who succeeded in reducing the whole ship's company to the verge of mutiny by his petty tyrannies. A full hunting

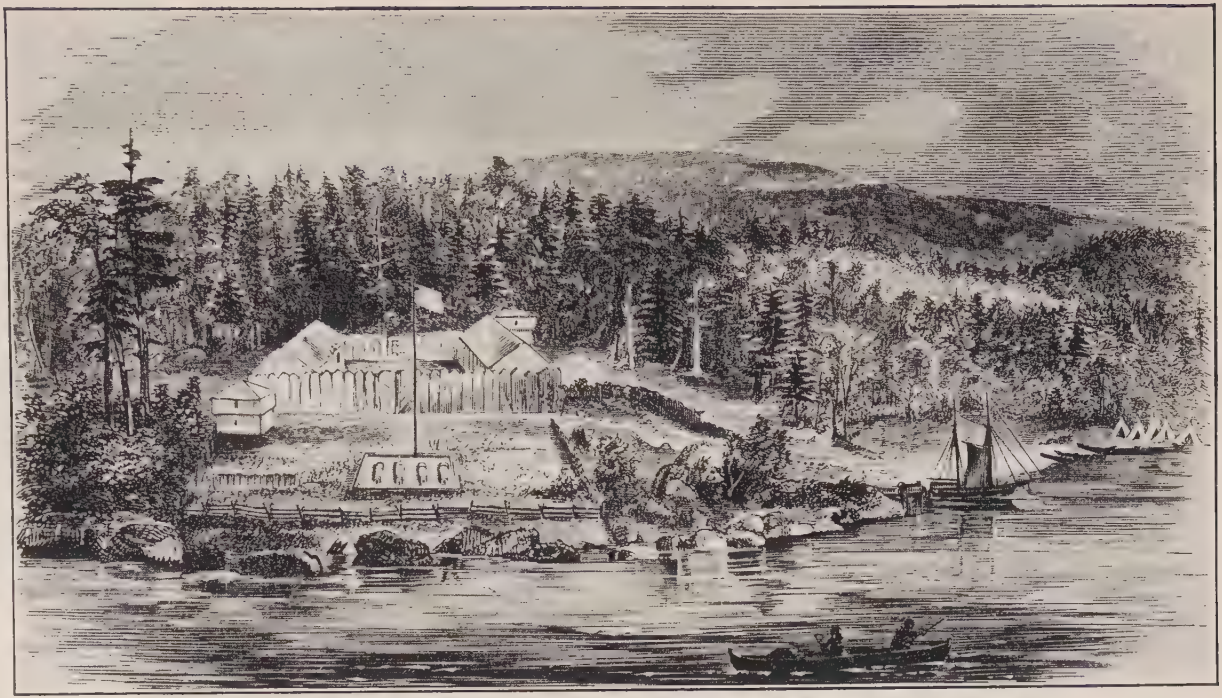
and trapping equipment, merchandise for the Indian trade, the frame of a coasting schooner, blacksmiths' and carpenters' tools, made up the bulk of the cargo. We owe to two of the clerks, Gabriel Franchère and Alexander Ross, our knowledge of the course of this six months' voyage. The *Tonquin* stopped at the Sandwich Islands for fresh supplies and a complement of Hawaiian sailors, who should prove useful in the coast cruises.

Arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, they were at a loss to find the channel. "The entrance of the river, which we plainly distinguished with the naked eye, appeared but a confused and agitated sea; the waves, impelled by a wind from the offing, broke upon the bar, and left no perceptible passage." [13] Captain Thorn sent a rowboat to seek out the entrance, but it was swamped in the tumult of waters. This disaster did not deter him from despatching another and another. Not till eight men were lost did the *Tonquin* finally hit upon the right channel and come to anchor within the bar (May 25, 1811). A month was spent in fixing upon a site for the fort and in discharging the tools and a portion of the supplies. Then (June 1) the impatient captain set out upon his trip up the coast in pursuit of furs. Alexander McKay, who had accompanied Mackenzie on his voyage to the Arctic Sea and was the ablest man in the party, went with him as supercargo. A week's voyage brought the *Tonquin* to Nootka Sound in advance of the English traders, and the Indians swarmed about the ship, offering their wares. In spite of the instructions of

Mr. Astor, the suggestions of his interpreter, and the earnest warnings of McKay, Thorn took none of the usual precautions to prevent an uncontrollable number of natives coming on board. So little comprehension had he of the nature of the tribe with whom he had to deal that he got into a controversy with the chief and struck him a blow in the face. Next morning the ship was surrounded by canoes filled with warriors, who thronged on board, offered bales of furs, and would take nothing but knives in exchange. Alarmed at last, Thorn ordered the crew to set sail; but all too late. With a hideous warwhoop, the Indians fell upon the captain and McKay and struck them down. The unarmed crew could make no defence, and all were killed but five men who fled to the cabin and, seizing firearms, succeeded in clearing the deck. But even so, their case was hopeless. They were too few to manage the vessel, and escape by the long boat would mean certain death either by capsize in the open sea or at the hands of the natives should they attempt to land. All that day the survivors remained below decks, and the Indians could only surmise their intentions, but on the morrow, when, tempted by the chance for plunder, the chief again boarded the *Tonquin*, an explosion of the powder magazine blew the ship to atoms and hurled captors and captives dead and dying into the waves.

To the party left at the mouth of the Columbia, the loss of the *Tonquin* was an irremediable disaster. The major part of their stock in trade had gone

with her to the bottom, together with their best men and the most of the ammunition, and another supply ship could not reach the coast until the following spring. McDougall, the partner left in charge, was a man of "but ordinary capacity, with an irritable, peevish temper; the most unfit man in the world to head an expedition or command men." [14] The choice of a site for Fort Astoria had been hurriedly made, and it proved to be unfortunate. No adequate survey of the possibilities was undertaken, for Captain Thorn was in a hurry to land the outfit and be off for the northern trade. The ground was preëmpted by mammoth firs too large to be manageable for building purposes and difficult to remove, and their shade made the place gloomy and unwholesome. Two months' hard labor was spent in clearing an acre of land and putting up a temporary shelter. McDougall would have done well to shift to the site of the fort built by Lewis and Clark on Young's Bay. Its ruins were plain to be seen, "piles of rough, unhewn logs, overgrown with parasite creepers." [15] August and September were spent in building a weather-proof house, against the rainy season. It was sufficiently commodious, and contained a sitting-room, a dining-room, several sleeping rooms, and an apartment for the mechanics. The blacksmith's shop was close by. Meantime, provisions were running short. There were no sportsmen in the party, and the native hunters had retreated to the mountains. Thus the Astorians were reduced to smoked salmon and such elk and venison as one old Indian could bring in. The fish



Fort Astoria in 1813.

diet proved unwholesome for all but the Hawaiians, and before the summer was over, half the force was on the sick list. No physician had been provided and few medicines, and the men complained bitterly of neglect. Ten of the more enterprising attempted desertion, but they were captured and brought back by the Indians, a misadventure that doubtless saved them from a worse fate. The framework of a coasting schooner, the *Dolly*, was put together, but she proved too small to risk the channel and so useless. Alexander Ross, a seasoned Northwester, grumbled over the trading stock as quite unsuitable. "Instead of guns, we got old metal pots and gridirons; instead of beads and trinkets, we got white cotton; and instead of blankets, molasses. In short, all the useless trash and unsalable trumpery which had been accumulating in his [Astor's] shops and stores for half a century past, were swept together to fill his Columbia ships. That these cargoes were insured need not be told; sink or swim, his profits were sure." [16]

It soon became evident that the North West Company did not intend to leave the Americans undisputed possession of the outlet of the river that afforded their best means of transportation to the west coast. Alexander Ross shall tell the story. "On the 15th of July, we were rather surprised at the unexpected arrival of a North West proprietor [partner] at Astoria, and still more so at the free and cordial reception given to an opponent. Mr. [David] Thompson, northwest-like, came dashing down the Columbia in a light canoe, manned with eight Iroquois

and an interpreter, chiefly men from the vicinity of Montreal. McDougal received him like a brother; nothing was too good for Mr. Thompson; he had access everywhere; saw and examined everything; and whatever he asked for he got, as if he had been one of ourselves." [17] This reception seemed no more than was due to so distinguished a representative of the rival house, especially as Thompson announced that his was an exploring not a trading expedition.[18] The others thought him "but little better than a spy in the camp." [19] Franchère believed that the brilliant Northwester had intended to take possession of the country in behalf of Great Britain and that he was ill pleased to find the Astorians installed at the mouth of the Columbia. Mr. Thompson said that he had crossed the Continent during the preceding season, but that the desertion of a portion of his men had compelled him to winter at the base of the Rocky Mountains, at the head waters of the Columbia. In the spring he had built a canoe, the materials for which he had brought with him across the mountains, and had come down the river to this establishment. He added that the wintering partners had resolved "to abandon all their trading posts west of the mountains, not to enter into competition with us, provided our company would engage not to encroach upon their commerce on the east side: and to support what he said, produced a letter to that effect, addressed by the wintering partners to the chief of their house in Canada, the Hon. William M'Gillivray." [20]

The unsuspecting McDougal set about exploiting the interior, his especial province. A trading party, fitted out as well as the scanty supplies would admit, was sent up Clark's River (the east branch or main stream of the Columbia), and a trading post was built at the junction of the Okanagan. Here Ross spent the winter and succeeded in collecting fifteen hundred and fifty beaver skins from the Indians. He estimated that his stock of furs, worth £2250 in the Canton market, cost in merchandise only £35! David Stuart, who pushed farther north up the Okanagan, was no less successful. The Flathead country was well stocked with buffalo; the Kootenais had plenty of beaver, deer, and mountain sheep, and they knew so little of the value of fur that twenty beaver skins worth £25 could be bought for a gun worth twenty-seven shillings. These tribes were peaceful, honest, clean, and chaste, uncontaminated as yet by the white man. Astor's representative agreed with McMillan, the factor at the Spokane House, that no liquor should be sold to the natives, lest they be degraded to the condition of the Chenooks of the lower Columbia.[21]

The overland expedition, meantime, had been in desperate straits. The party embarked from Montreal on July 6, 1810, a full month before the *Tonquin* had sailed from New York, and it was hoped that the two companies would arrive at the mouth of the Columbia at about the same time. Wilson Price Hunt, who was intrusted with the command of this venture, was from New Jersey, an excellent merchant and devoted to Astor's interests, but unfa-

miliar with the ways of the wilderness. The partners who were associated with him were experienced men and naturally jealous of his authority and critical of his decisions. Donald Mackenzie, an old Northwester, was "bold, robust, and peculiarly qualified to lead Canadian *voyageurs* through thick and thin." [22] Ramsay Crooks was a young Scotchman, who had been four years (1807–1811) on the Missouri prosecuting the fur trade from Council Bluffs. He was then a member of the Missouri Fur Company, but now cast in his lot with the Astorians. McLellan was an American whose life had been spent on the frontier. He was one of Wayne's runners and won distinction even among those valorous scouts for courage and resource. According to Ross, McLellan was "one of the first shots in America," "hardy, enterprizing and brave as a lion." [23] He had been associated with Crooks in the Missouri River trade and joined the expedition at Nadowa. Joseph Miller, who joined the party at St. Louis, was also familiar with the frontier and with the Indians. Having engaged at Montreal a sufficient number of *voyageurs* to manage their boat, Hunt and Mackenzie made their way by the Ottawa River to Mackinaw, the chief Astor post, and thence by Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Mississippi and St. Louis. Here the majority of the boatmen and hunters were collected. Mackenzie had urged that Canadians whom he knew and trusted be brought from Montreal, but to Hunt this seemed a needless expense. Moreover, he discounted the gay and volatile Frenchmen. He picked up a few *voyageurs*

at Mackinaw, to the infinite disgust of the Northwesters, who observed that the Canadians were expert canoemen, while the Mackinas were expert bottle men.

At St. Louis the difficulty of recruiting the force was even greater. The men who lounged about the wharves of this river port were "a medley of French Creoles, old and worn-out Canadians, Spanish renegades, with a mixture of Indians and Indian half-breeds, enervated by indolence, debauchery, and a warm climate." [24] True, some Americans presented themselves, attracted by the prospect of adventure in a new and untried field. Several Yankees, "sleek and tall as pines of the forest," [25] engaged as hunters and trappers, but they would not put up with the meagre fare accorded the Canadians, and Hunt refused to make any improvement. So these lordly backwoodsmen abandoned the expedition at Nadowa, their advance pay in their pockets. One Kentuckian who stayed by the enterprise, John Day, proved a tower of strength. In the autumn of 1810 the party went into camp at the mouth of the Nadowa River, four hundred and fifty miles up the Missouri, where the penny-wise-and-pound-foolish Hunt, having wasted the summer recruiting his party, ordained they should spend the winter to save the cost of a sojourn at St. Louis. The best men deserted, Hunt was obliged to return to St. Louis for substitutes, and the expedition did not finally embark until March 12, 1811.

The preparations for the Astor expedition had been watched with jealousy and suspicion by the

Missouri Fur Company, and it is probable that Hunt's difficulty in securing fit men had been augmented by the wiles of the opposition. No sooner had he set off than Lisa attempted, by a device not infrequent in the annals of the trade, to deprive him of his boatmen. A marshal was sent to St. Charles to arrest Pierre Dorion on the charge of an unpaid debt, but the man took to the woods and rejoined Hunt higher up the river. Balked of his prey, Lisa hurried his preparations for the spring trip to the Mandans, meaning to overtake and if possible forestall the Astorians. Hunt had three weeks' start, and was two hundred and forty miles up the river when his rival left St. Louis. He suspected that the wily Spaniard meant to defeat his enterprise by some despicable intrigue, and his fears were reënforced by a tale Crooks and McLellan had to tell of the way in which they had been betrayed into the hands of the Sioux. Consequently the cautious New Jerseyan made all possible speed. Lisa, meanwhile, was driving his patient *voyageurs* to desperate exertions. Brackenridge tells the story of this exciting chase. He overheard the poor fellows complaining: "It is impossible for us to persevere any longer in this unceasing toil, this over-strained exertion, which wears us down. We are not permitted a moment's repose; scarcely is time allowed us to eat, or to smoke our pipes. We can stand it no longer, human nature cannot bear it; our bourgeois has no pity on us." [26] In such moments of depression, Lisa's courage flashed out like fire. He would seize the helm, pass round the grog, raise a song

loved of the men, or make an encouraging speech, promising them rich reward at the end of this mad chase. In spite of head winds and almost continuous rain, he covered eleven hundred miles in two months, an average of eighteen miles a day, a feat unparalleled in keel-boat days on the Missouri.

Just beyond the Niobrara, the Astorians were overtaken, and none too soon, for the country was infested by bands of hostiles, who were only deterred from attack by this exceptional show of force. Hunt's suspicions were not allayed, however, and he and Lisa were on the point of fighting a duel over poor Dorion when Bradbury and Brackenridge intervened and patched up a peace. There is no evidence that the chief of the Missouri Company had any evil designs against the Astor party. The Columbia lay so far beyond his territory, actual or prospective, that he had no desire to compete.

Arriving at the Aricara villages, Hunt determined to strike directly west across the plains of the Little Missouri, hoping to find a route better furnished with game than that traversed by Lewis and Clark, and free from the murderous Blackfeet. For this enterprise, horses were indispensable, and here Lisa proved helpful and generous. He negotiated the purchases from the treacherous Aricaras, and brought animals of his own from the Mandans, taking Hunt's boats and superfluous luggage in exchange. A month was spent in effecting these purchases, but by the middle of July all was ready, and the party set out by the Grand River. They were sixty-four persons all told, Dorion's squaw and her two chil-

dren being the only dependents. Seventy-six horses were loaded with the goods deemed necessary for the undertaking, and since the riding horses were not sufficient to accommodate all, the men had to take turns in walking.

The route chosen skirted the northern slopes of the Black Hills and the Bighorn Mountains, a maze of river and fell, through which Edward Rose, a renegade white man who had attached himself to the Crow Indians, served as guide. Leaving the Crow country and pushing up Wind River, the party rode along an Indian trail across the continental divide, and rounding the Three Tetons — a lofty landmark well known to Henry's men — they arrived at last (October 12) at his ill-starred fort on the north fork of the Snake River and there camped on westward-flowing water.[27] Here the road-worn party clamored to be allowed to build boats and embark upon the river, and Hunt, knowing nothing of the character of the stream he had to deal with, foolishly complied. The horses were turned loose, and goods and men were packed into fifteen "crazy and frail" canoes. It proved an almost fatal mistake. For eight days they glided down with the current, congratulating themselves that their hardships were at an end, but on the ninth they were swept into a whirlpool, Caldron Linn,[28] where Crooks' boat capsized, and one of the *voyageurs* was lost. Then and not until then did Hunt bethink him to explore his "Mad river." The parties despatched down-stream returned after a few days to report that navigation was impossible. The river flowed between precipitous basalt walls

The Snake River Desert, American Falls in the Foreground.

over a bed so rocky and beset with rapids that no boat could live, even in the hands of the most expert boatman. A party sent back to Fort Henry to recover the horses returned without them. The situation seemed desperate and was in reality more ominous than they knew. Before them lay the Snake River Desert, one thousand miles of rock, ledge, and sage-brush, where game was scarce and water could be gotten from the river with difficulty. Winter was upon them, and there was no time to be lost. They cached all but the most necessary luggage and divided the men into four companies under the leadership of the four partners, thinking that by distributing their force they should be more likely to find whatever supplies the desert afforded. Hunt and Crooks took the left or south bank; McLellan took the right. "They counted on arriving very quickly at the Columbia; but they followed this Mad river for twenty days, finding nothing at all to eat, and suffering horribly from thirst. The rocks between which the river flows being so steep and abrupt as to prevent their descending to quench their thirst (so that even their dogs died of it), they suffered the torments of Tantalus, with this difference, that he had the water which he could not reach above his head, while our travellers had it beneath their feet. . . . To appease the cravings of hunger, they ate beaver skins roasted in the evening at the camp fire. They even were at last constrained to eat their moccasins." [29] Hunt and Crooks were so fortunate as to find a wretched Indian camp. The Shoshones fled at the sight of

white faces, but left their horses behind them, and the starving Astorians shot them for food, leaving some trinkets in payment. Soon after Mackenzie and McLellan appeared on the opposite bank and made Hunt understand that their people were in desperate straits. Hunt had a canoe constructed of horse hide and managed to send them a little meat; but the attempt to bring the parties over was defeated by the capsizing of the fragile craft. Several of the Canadian boatmen, despairing of ever reaching civilization, abandoned the enterprise and found refuge with the Indians.

In this wilderness Mackenzie's party came upon a young American, Archibald Pelton of Connecticut, who had been crazed by its terrors. In his lucid intervals he told his story. He had come out with Henry, had escaped from the massacre at Three Forks, and had been wandering about for three years with no human company but that of the Snake Indians. The destitute wanderers gave him what help they could afford, and he was glad to join their forlorn hope. The north bank party, under Mackenzie, forged ahead, crossed the Blue Mountains by the Indian trail and, descending to the Walla Walla, reached at last a great river that they rightly deemed could be no other than the Columbia. Here they purchased boats of the natives and, making their way past the Dalles and the Cascades, finally arrived at Astoria on the tenth of January, 1812. Hunt and his people, handicapped by Dorion's wife and two boys, did not get through till February 15. In late April, as David Stuart's brigade was coming down

the river from the Okanagan post, they were hailed near the mouth of the Umatilla by a shout in English, — "Come on shore." They steered toward the sound and saw two white men "standing like two specters." They proved to be Ramsay Crooks and John Day, but "so changed and emaciated were they, that our people for some time could scarcely recognize them to be white men." [30]

Once reunited at the mouth of the Columbia, the Astorians had little to congratulate themselves upon. Food was still scarce, and there would have been suffering but for the supply of fresh salmon brought in by the natives. The Chinooks on the lower river were well accustomed to trade, but the Falls Indians and the "robber barons" at the Dalles were suspicious and hostile. An expedition sent up the river to recover the goods cached on the Snake and to carry despatches to New York was attacked at the long narrows, "that noted resort of plunderers, where few can pass without paying a heavy tax," [31] and forced to turn back. The arrival of the supply ship *Beaver* (May 12, 1812) cheered the hearts of the adventurers, for she brought not only a valuable cargo, but a considerable reënforcement of men: John Clarke, a new partner, half a dozen clerks (among whom was Ross Cox, an inexperienced New Yorker), Canadian and American *engagés*, and the usual complement of Sandwich Islanders.

Hunt organized the season's campaign with zeal and discretion. David Stuart returned to his Okanagan post, John Clarke undertook to establish a trading house on the Spokane in competition with the North

West Company's factory, Mackenzie was sent back to Snake River where he built a fort at its junction with the Boisé, while Robert Stuart started overland with despatches for Mr. Astor. With him went three Canadians and McLellan and Crooks, who had had enough of the wilderness and wished to return to St. Louis. Hunt, himself, set out on the *Beaver* to trade up the Alaskan coast (August 14, 1812), leaving McDougal in charge at Astoria. All these enterprises except the last were reasonably successful. Young Stuart led his party across the Blue Mountains to the Snake River, where he fell in with Joseph Miller and took him and his trapper in tow. Turning southeast from Caldron Linn, they came to Bear River, but instead of striking east where they might have found the South Pass and the Sweetwater, they apparently lost sense of direction and turned north till they were on Snake River again and then east through the Tetons, a hazardous and difficult journey, and finally came out upon the north fork of the Platte (October 30) into a "bleak and boundless plain," which, "destitute both of animals and firewood, appeared like an ocean of despair." [32] From this point, they might easily have reached St. Louis before snowfall; but they were entirely at sea as to their whereabouts and thought best to go into winter quarters in a sheltered valley where a herd of buffalo promised sufficient food. In the following spring they made their way down to the Missouri and reached St. Louis in April of 1813, after ten months of wandering.

Stuart's despatches gave Mr. Astor his first news of the safe arrival of the overland party and of the

various trading ventures. He was highly pleased. "That will do," said he; "I have hit the nail on the head." [33] There was still, however, grave reason for anxiety as to the ultimate fate of Astoria. War with Great Britain had been declared on June 19, 1812, and the Atlantic ports were blockaded by the British navy. Moreover, English men-of-war were following our whaling ships into the Pacific and might get as far as Astoria. Influential as was Astor in Washington, the prospect of getting the government to send aid to the trading post seemed more than dubious. News of the war reached the Astorians from Montreal, but not till December, 1812, when two partners of the North West Company, J. G. McTavish and Joseph LaRoque, arrived at the Spokane House and communicated to the Americans there this startling intelligence. Mackenzie had come over from the Boisé to consult with Clarke as to the advisability of abandoning his station, and the war news clinched his decision that the position was untenable. He hastened back to collect his men and furs, and reached Astoria on January 15, 1813, having voyaged down the Columbia with the jubilant Northwesters, bringing with him the seven *voyageurs* who had abandoned Hunt on Snake River. He readily convinced McDougal that the part of wisdom consisted in abandoning a desperate undertaking and dissolving the partnership. The two canny Scots foresaw the probability that they could make comfortable terms with the North West Company. The defection of Crooks, McLellan, and Miller, and the absence of Hunt left the Montreal men in control. Franchère clearly

indicates the prevailing state of mind. "When we learned this news, all of us at Astoria who were British subjects and Canadians, wished ourselves in Canada; but we could not entertain even the thought of transporting ourselves thither, at least immediately; we were separated from our country by an immense space, and the difficulties of the journey at this season were insuperable; besides, Mr. Astor's interests had to be consulted first. We held, therefore, a sort of council of war, to which the clerks of the factory were invited *pro formâ*, as they had no voice in the deliberations. Having maturely weighed our situation; after having seriously considered that being almost to a man British subjects, we were trading, notwithstanding, under the American flag; and foreseeing the improbability or rather, to cut the matter short, the impossibility that Mr. Astor could send us farther supplies or reënforcements while the war lasted, as most of the ports of the United States would inevitably be blockaded by the British,— we concluded to abandon the establishment in the ensuing spring, or, at latest, in the beginning of the summer. We did not communicate these resolutions to the men, lest they should in consequence abandon their labor; but we discontinued, from that moment, our trade with the natives, except for provisions; as well because we had no longer a large stock of goods on hand, as for the reason that we had already more furs than we could carry away overland." [34]

In April, McTavish and LaRocque arrived at Astoria with the announcement that they had come to await the arrival of their supply ship, the *Isaac Todd*,

bearing letters of marque and accompanied by a frigate of the line under orders to seize the American factory. When Stuart and Clarke came down the river, a formal council was held, and the vote stood three to two for dissolving the partnership. Stuart and Clarke, the Americans, vigorously opposed this pusillanimous surrender of the results of two years' strenuous labor; but McDougal claimed Mr. Astor's proxy and cast the deciding vote. A manifesto was drawn up July 1, 1813, stating the reasons for terminating their contract with Mr. Astor. In the first place, supplies had run short, the *Beaver*, due November, 1812, had not returned from her trading trip, and the war would prevent another supply ship being sent round the Horn. Secondly, the trade at the interior posts had fallen short of expectations. Finally, the Pacific Fur Company could never expect to compete with the Northwesters, already intrenched in several well-equipped posts on the upper Columbia.

When Mr. Hunt finally returned to Astoria (August 20, 1813), more than a year after his departure in the *Beaver*, the fatal decision had been taken, and he could do nothing but comply. His own misadventures marked the culmination of the run of bad luck to which Astor's enterprise seemed fated. Trade with the Russians had proved remunerative but intolerably slow. The *Beaver* was injured in a gale off St. Paul, and the captain would not consent to brave the bore of the Columbia until his ship had been repaired. He sailed for the Sandwich Islands and thence to Canton, where, learning of the war, he remained in port till peace was declared, thus sacrific-

ing the profits of the voyage. Hunt, meantime, was waiting at Lahaina for a ship in which to return to the Columbia. His first news of hostilities was brought by the *Albatross* (June 20, 1813) just a year after war had been declared. He promptly took passage on this vessel and reached Astoria (August 21) only to learn that the Northwesters had succeeded, by threats and promises, in inducing the Scotchmen to betray his interests. Finding protests useless, he returned to the Islands with the *Albatross*, hoping to secure a disengaged vessel in which to recover the Pacific Fur Company's property. There he learned that a supply ship, the *Lark*, had been sent out by Mr. Astor with instructions to remove men and goods to the Russian settlements until the outcome of the war should be apparent; but she unfortunately had gone to wreck on a coral reef with only the crew saved. Chartering another ship, the *Pedler*, the indefatigable Hunt again reached Astoria (February 28, 1814) only to find the British flag floating over the fort and the North West Company in possession. McDougal had accepted a proposition from Montreal for the purchase of the establishment for $80,500, a sum far below its actual value. The goods were reckoned at ten per cent of cost, plus transportation charges. Beaver skins were estimated at $2 and land otter at fifty cents apiece.[35] Hunt was "confounded" when he heard these terms and "censured in strong terms the precipitate (not to say dishonest) manner in which the sale had been effected."[36] His protests came too late, however, and he could do nothing but return to the United States with his loyal remnant.[37]

Franchère, Canadian though he was, thought such a financial sacrifice quite uncalled for. "From the account given in this chapter the reader will see with what facility the establishment of the Pacific Fur Company could have escaped capture by the British force. It was only necessary to get rid of the land party of the North West Company,— who were completely in our power,— then remove our effects up the river upon some small stream, and await the result. The sloop-of-war arrived, it is true; but as, in the case I suppose, she would have found nothing, she would have left, after setting fire to our deserted houses. None of their boats would have dared follow us, even if the Indians had betrayed to them our lurking-place. Those at the head of affairs had their own fortunes to seek, and thought it more for their interest, doubtless, to act as they did, but that will not clear them in the eyes of the world, and the charge of treason to Mr. Astor's interests will always be attached to their characters." [38]

McDougal accepted a partnership in the North West Company. McLennan, Ross, and Cox entered that service as clerks on advantageous terms, but Mackenzie, Stuart, Clarke, and the indignant Franchère returned with the spring brigade to Montreal. The free trappers, Americans for the most part, retreated to the Willamette Valley to hunt and fish and live at ease. They had become so wonted to the life of the wilderness that they were willing to settle there with their Indian wives. They refused to take service with the Canadian Company, but trapped on their own account.

That Astor's project was statesmanlike and entirely practicable, the later successes of the British company abundantly proved. There was no parsimony in the expenditure of money, and a sum of $400,000 was lavished on an enterprise that produced no financial returns. Neither was there economy of human energy. Three years of strenuous effort and sixty-five lives went into the establishing of this trading post on the Pacific.[39] In reviewing the mistakes that contributed to the failure of the undertaking, we recognize first of all that Astor's agents were not equal to the responsibilities imposed upon them. McKay was the only man of first-rate ability among them, and he was lost at the outset. No one of them, Captain Thorn, McDougal, Hunt, Mackenzie (not to mention the partners who deserted) had the resolute mastery of circumstance that compels success. Astor has been severely blamed for intrusting his enterprise so largely to Canadians and Northwesters. Had he foreseen war, he might have realized that their loyalty to Great Britain and to Montreal would prevail to the jeopardy of his business. Born a German peasant, and arriving in this country at the close of the Revolutionary War, he could hardly be expected to understand the qualities of the American. Moreover, the exaggerated jealousy of the Missouri Fur Company had deprived him of coöperation from St. Louis. He naturally turned to the fur traders of Montreal with whom he was already familiar. It was also to be expected of a New York merchant that he should regard the sea route as the most feasible means of communication with the Columbia. The existence of an

overland traverse practicable for pack animals and much shorter than that traversed by Lewis and Clark was demonstrated by Robert Stuart's party, in spite of their unhappy wanderings. If they had marched directly east from Bear River to the Sweetwater and followed its lead, they would have covered the route that later became the Oregon trail, and might have accomplished the whole distance from Astoria to St. Louis in six months. The voyage round the Horn required nine months under favorable conditions, and the chances of loss were far greater. Farther, no business could be maintained against such disasters as the loss of the *Tonquin* and the *Lark* and the profitless voyagings of the *Beaver*. Astor possessed a great fortune and was the most daring entrepreneur of that day, but even he found the odds too heavy. The ultimate cause of failure arose from the inability of the United States government to give aid to this remotest venture of American commerce. Astor besought President Madison to send a war vessel to his distressed colony, but in vain. Public opinion would not have justified so costly an expedition, even if the ship could have been spared. Jefferson might have taken the risks, but few other men in America appreciated the far-reaching significance of Astor's experiment.

The treaty of Ghent provided for the mutual restoration of all forts and private property seized during the war. Astoria was not, however, mentioned or thought of until Astor called the matter to the attention of President Madison. Then (1818) J. P. Prevost was despatched to the Columbia to take

possession. The United States flag was run up over the fort, but the property had been purchased by the North West Company and could not be recovered. The flag-raising ceremony having been successfully performed, the American emissary sailed away, and the British traders were left in undisturbed possession. The rights of the United States in the Oregon country were safeguarded, however, by the treaty of Joint Occupation concluded with Great Britain in this same year, according to which "any country claimed by either party on the North West Coast of America" together with all harbors, bays, rivers, etc., was to be "free and open" to the subjects of both powers for the term of ten years.

Section IV

Fort Vancouver

The career of the North West Company on the Columbia was not a brilliant one. According to Alexander Henry, who spent the winter of 1813–1814 at Fort George, the Northwesters were in quite as awkward a predicament as the Astorians had been. He found the atmosphere of the post demoralizing and the warm, damp climate depressing, while the trees that overshadowed the building, "very large, heavy and mostly unserviceable," made the place unwholesome. "Most of the men brought overland by the P. F. Co. are undisciplined, impertinent, ill-behaved vagabonds, devoid of that sense of subordination which our business requires."[40] The natives did not please him better. "Beavers are numerous, but the natives,

who are also numerous, will not hunt them." They persisted in digging wappatoo, and "could not be persuaded of the benefit they would reap from working beaver." Indeed, the inconsiderate aborigines of the Willamette Valley showed a disposition to resent the intrusion of the hunters. "They said they did not wish white people to come up this river; that our guns had driven away the deer or made them so wild that they could no longer be killed with bows and arrows." After the departure of the *Racoon*, the British sloop of war, Henry felt considerable trepidation as to their chances of survival. "Left at the mercy of chance among hostile natives, with no goods to trade and scant provisions," an Indian uprising in behalf of the "Bostons" or the arrival of an American man-of-war would have quickly turned the tables and restored Oregon to the United States. The belated supply ship, the *Isaac Todd*, arrived toward the end of April, and trading parties were sent to the upper posts with plentiful stocks of English goods; but the business did not prosper. McDougal, who had been rewarded for his compliance with McTavish's plans by the office of chief factor of the Columbian district, was incapable of effective organization, and his timid counsels stood in the way of active prosecution of the trade. The freedom permitted in liquor-selling and credit advances demoralized the *engagés*, while the Indians were fast dying out under the influence of the white man's vices.

The North West Company had three hundred *engagés* west of the Rockies — a reckless, nondescript lot, Iroquois hunters, Hawaiian sailors, and renegade

whites. They came into frequent conflict with the natives, whose notions of tribal property in land, timber, rivers, game, and fish the *parvenus* were not inclined to respect. The Dalles Indians were strong enough to extort tribute, but the Chenooks and Clatsops submitted meekly to the invasion, while the Chehallis on the Cowlitz and the Umpquas to the south were rendered hostile by wanton massacres. The only new post built was Fort Walla Walla (1818), which Donald Mackenzie deemed essential to the security of his trappers on Snake River. Alexander Ross, another Astorian, maintained his post on the Okanagan and carried his trading expeditions as far as the Yakima Valley, the resort of the Nez Perces.

With the merging of the interests of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies (1821), a new régime was established on the Columbia. John McLoughlin, a Canadian of Scotch and French parentage and formerly a partner in the North West Company, was appointed chief factor of the Columbia district in 1824, and under his strong and wise administration, an epoch of peace and prosperity was inaugurated. The principal factory was removed from Astoria, now called Fort George, to Bellevue Point, a wholesome elevation ninety miles up the river and nearly opposite the *debouchement* of the Willamette. The new post, Fort Vancouver, was equally accessible from the sea and a far less troublesome landing-place. Situated at the junction of three rivers, it commanded the canoe trade to north, south, east, and west. Fort George was thereafter maintained merely as a lookout station to furnish pilots to vessels coming

up the river and to forward the intelligence of arrivals by sea to the chief factor. The Klackatucks who inhabited the north shore of the river from the Cowlitz to the Cascades were the best of the native hunters and brought in quantities of game and peltry. The soil was well suited to agriculture, and a neighboring stream furnished water-power for a sawmill. Here three thousand acres of fertile land were gradually brought under cultivation, and a sufficient quantity of grain was grown to supply the Columbia River force after 1828, and the interior posts after 1840. The hogs and goats brought from the Hawaiian Islands by the *Tonquin* had multiplied rapidly, and the four head of Spanish cattle imported on the *Isaac Todd* were carefully nourished. The chief factor allowed no cattle to be killed except one bull calf each year for rennet, and the only meat furnished to the force at Vancouver was elk and venison. This thrifty policy was rewarded by the accumulation of a fine herd. In 1828, there were 200 cattle, 50 horses, and 300 swine in the woods and pastures about the Fort, but not till 1838 was the embargo on slaughter removed. Three hundred people were employed on the farm and in the various industries of the establishment. Their dwellings, the barns, cowsheds, gristmill, threshing-mill, and workshops, the dairy and the salmon house, gave to the Fort the appearance of an agricultural village. The post itself was an imposing affair,—a stockaded enclosure, 250 by 150 yards square, surrounded the governor's house, the clerks' quarters, and the storehouses where the stock of furs, the supplies, and the goods for the season's trade

were kept under lock and key. Flowers and vine-clad arbors, a flourishing vegetable garden and a promising orchard gave the post an air of comfort and refinement that made it seem a very paradise to the weary traveller from the mountains or from across the sea.

The arrival of the supply ship from London was a great event, since it brought not only the all-important stock in trade, but news of the great world and, not infrequently, distinguished visitors from afar. The annual "brigade" from the interior came down the river in the month of June, a brave show of well-manned canoes, heavily laden with beaver packs and wilderness-worn hunters dressed in their gaudiest deerskins and eager for the sight of wives and children. The transcontinental "Express" made its annual journey up the Columbia to Fort Colville and over the "height of land" (Saskatchewan Pass) to the Saskatchewan, Lake Winnipeg, and York Factory, leaving Vancouver in March and returning the following autumn, with the regularity of an ocean liner. The mails for Canada and the United States were carried by this route as well as supplies for the interior posts.

Dr. McLoughlin's energetic personality was felt not only at Fort Vancouver, but throughout the vast fur region west of the Rockies. He reënforced the trading posts of Walla Walla and Okanagan, built a new and important depot, Fort Colville (1825), on the upper Columbia to supersede Spokane House as connecting link with New Caledonia, and planted pioneer establishments on the Flathead and Umpqua rivers and on Hood's Canal. Fort Boisé and Fort

Hall (1835) marked the easternmost reach of this commercial empire, but trading parties were despatched southward into the desert wastes of the Great Basin (1826) and along the Pacific Coast as far as the Sacramento Valley (1829). In 1835, the Columbia district could boast six trading posts on the sea (none, however, south of the forty-ninth parallel) and sixteen in the interior, while six armed vessels and one small steamer managed the coastwise trade. The season's accumulation of furs, whether gathered in the coast trade or collected in the interior, was brought to Fort Vancouver and stored to await the advent of the ship from London. The cargo of furs sent out annually brought from $500,000 to $1,000,000 in the London market. A year's supply of goods was always stored at the central depot to guard against the possible loss of this vessel. In accordance with an agreement effected with the Russian-American Fur Company in 1839, New Archangel was supplied with wheat flour (at $15 to $20 per barrel) and other provisions, in exchange for the seal, fox, and otter skins taken about the "Frozen Ocean." Pickled salmon and sawed lumber (at $60 to $100 per M.) were shipped to the Sandwich Islands in exchange for sugar and salt, and this trade was worth $60,000 a year.

The best traditions of the Hudson's Bay Company were observed at Fort Vancouver. Prices were fixed and reasonable, the quality of wares and supplies was as good as the English market afforded, strict justice was enforced for Indian and white man alike. No liquor was sold to the natives, and only a sparing

measure was dealt out to the Company's servants, the treat being reserved for festive occasions, as Christmas and the return of the brigade. Such was the chief factor's reputation for fair dealing that he was known among the tribes far and near as the "Great White Chief," and the "White-headed Eagle." His influence with the redmen seemed unbounded. There were no Indian wars so long as Dr. McLoughlin was in command of Fort Vancouver, for his refusal to trade with a troublesome tribe was sufficient to bring the mutineers to terms. A school was maintained at the Fort for the benefit of the half-breed children of the officers and servants of the Company, and of the many orphan children of Indians who had been in the Company's employ. They were taught English (sometimes French), writing, arithmetic, and geography; and were subsequently either apprenticed to traders in Canada or kept in the Company's service. The expenses of a resident physician and a hospital were also met by the Company.

The resources of the vast region covered by the Columbia district were developed with zeal and efficiency, but with a concern for the preservation of the men and animals involved that was characteristic of the Hudson's Bay Company. The trappers were sent out under trained leaders and amply supplied with food and pack-animals. A trapping party is thus described by John Dunn, one of the clerks at Fort Vancouver. "The party generally consists of about fifty or sixty men — most of them the Company's servants, — others, free hunters. The ser-

vants have a stated salary, while the freemen receive so much per skin. Previous to leaving the Fort for their arduous adventure, they are allowed a small quantity of rum per man; and they generally enjoy a grand holiday and feast the night previous to starting. Each man has a certain number of horses, sufficient to carry his equipment. The free trappers generally provide their own animals. Both the Company's servants and the freemen frequently take their wives and families with them; the women are very useful on the expedition, in preparing meals and other necessaries for their husbands during their absence from the camp. In summer and winter, whether they have a sort of travelling camp or a fixed residence, they select the localities that most abound in fur-bearing animals.

"Though a party may be obliged, from a variety of circumstances, to winter in the plains, or in the recesses of the mountains, on the borders of lakes or rivers, some numbers of it return to the fort at *the fall*, with the produce of the season's hunt, and report progress; and return to the camp with a reinforcement of necessary supplies. Thus the Company are enabled to acquire a minute knowledge of the country and the natives; and extend their power and authority over both." [41]

One of the most notable of the Hudson's Bay Company servants was Peter Skeene Ogden, son of a Tory judge of Newark, New Jersey, who, bereft of home and property by the American Revolution, took refuge in Canada. Young Ogden entered the fur business as a clerk in the North West Company,

but transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company with the consolidation and was soon after appointed chief trader to the Snake River country. His first party (1824) was made up of two gentlemen, two interpreters, seventy-one men and lads, eighty guns, three hundred and sixty-four beaver traps, three hundred and seventy-two horses, and was "the most formidable party that had ever set out for the Snakes."[42] Since the average catch per trap in this rich district was twenty-six beavers, the return anticipated from the hunt was fourteen thousand one hundred skins. For five successive winters, Ogden searched the new and difficult district between the Three Tetons and the Cascades, trapping every discoverable stream and returning each spring to the Nez Perces post with his take of peltry. The money return from these unexploited beaver meadows was gratifying, but a more permanent result was the contribution to geographic knowledge. Ogden followed the John Day River to the Blue Mountains and the Deschutes to its source in the Sierras. Harney and Malheur lakes in the wastes of eastern Oregon were familiar ground to this tireless hunter. Farther south, in the edge of the great desert, he came upon his "unknown river" later denominated the Humboldt, but which the fur traders more appropriately called the Ogden. Making his way across the Sierras, Ogden discovered the Klamath and Shasta rivers and confirmed for these as for snow-capped Mt. Shasta their wonted Indian names. The information he was able to give concerning this trackless waste of river and desert and mountain was used by the London

map maker, Arrowsmith, as the basis for the maps prepared for the use of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus did the fur trader, bent only on profit, supplement, even anticipate, the work of the explorer.

Section V

Rivalry of the American Companies

The war of 1812 had a demoralizing effect upon the fur trade of St. Louis. The foreign market being cut off, the price of furs fell to a ruinous point. At the same time, war duties raised the prices of foreign goods and their domestic substitutes far beyond the rate which British traders had to pay. Thus the profits of the business were wiped out while at the same time its risks greatly increased. Open hostilities were confined to the operations on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and on the Great Lakes, but the animosities engendered bred trouble on the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri. Under the tutelage of the agents of the North West Company, the Sacs and Foxes of Illinois, the Iowas to the west of the Mississippi, the Sioux, the Mandans and the Aricaras along the Missouri, even those Bedouins of the Plains, the Crows and the Arapahoes, had learned to despise the Americans. The collapse of Astor's enterprise on the Columbia and the withdrawal of the Missouri Fur Company to the region below Council Bluffs confirmed the impression that the government at Washington was too remote or too feeble to protect its traders. American parties were attacked and robbed and the stolen furs

forwarded to British posts. The fact that the marauding Indians were armed with British muskets lent color to the assertion, current at St. Louis, that trade rivalry had much to do with the hostility of the Indians. Fortunately for the river settlements, the diplomacy of "Uncle Manuel" and General Clark averted disastrous conflict, but, notwithstanding the treaties of peace negotiated with the leading chiefs (1815), traffic on the upper Missouri was unsafe. The several tribes still held that traders on the river owed them tribute and they ambushed such parties as seemed too weak to offer resistance. Their depredations grew so annoying that Congress was induced (1819) to send an expedition to overawe the insubordinate aborigines. Colonel Henry Atkinson with a regiment of United States troops was directed to proceed up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone and there erect a fort adequate to the protection of trade, while a party of scientists in charge of Major Stephen H. Long was to explore the region between the Missouri and the Rockies. The attempt was made to send the troops up the river in steamboats, although no experiment in steam navigation had yet been made on the Missouri. The undertaking was thwarted by the clumsy character of the boats provided, and the troops got no farther than Council Bluffs, where they were obliged to winter and where one hundred men died of scurvy. A march of three times the distance might have been made with half the loss in life and one-tenth the money expenditure. The project of going on to the Yellowstone was abandoned perforce,

and the only persons benefited by the expedition were the contractors, who pocketed handsome profits. In the year following, Long's party went up the Platte River to the foothills of the Rockies, verified Pike's discoveries in that region, and returning by way of the Canadian River, proved that this misleading stream was not the Red River but a branch of the Arkansas.

The Aricara campaign was a military fiasco, which could have no other effect on the Indians than to render them even more contemptuous of the authority of the United States government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the trading party organized by William Ashley in the spring of 1823 was attacked and cut to pieces by the Aricaras and that another party of trappers and *voyageurs* operating for the Missouri Fur Company was destroyed by the Blackfeet on the Yellowstone. Colonel Leavenworth, in command of the military detachment at Council Bluffs, determined to forestall farther outrage by striking a stunning blow at the Aricara fortress. William H. Ashley and Joshua Pilcher, the able successors of Lisa at the head of the Missouri Fur Company's affairs, brought one hundred and twenty of their best men to his assistance, and four hundred Sioux warriors sided with the Americans. Such a force should have reduced the Aricaras to submission and guaranteed the security of the river road for years to come. Unfortunately Colonel Leavenworth was not accustomed to Indian diplomacy, and he made the mistake of suspending hostilities to consider offers of peace.

The treaty he negotiated was not worth the paper it was written on, and the perfidious Aricaras escaped punishment. Thereafter, in spite of the treaties negotiated by the second Yellowstone expedition (1825), the tribes of the upper Missouri regarded the traders as legitimate prey, frequenting the posts when they had furs to sell and robbing the trapping parties whenever they were strong enough to be sure of success.

The fur trade of the Far West, nevertheless, offered golden opportunities to whomsoever had courage and resources sufficient to overcome its inevitable hazards. In the years 1820 to 1830, the Missouri Fur Company [43] made determined efforts to get control of the upper Missouri. A new post, Fort Benton, was built at the mouth of the Big Horn, and a force of three hundred men was sent to this region, where the annual catch amounted to from $25,000 to $30,000. But the Company was finally ruined by the persistent hostility of the Blackfeet. These banditti of the plains ranged the high country from Judith Basin to the Three Forks, and they were determined not to surrender to the whites their rich beaver meadows. They fought the interlopers with British muskets and traded their booty of beaver skins at the North West Company's posts. Congress had been induced (1816) to take advantage of the silence of the peace of Ghent on this vexed subject by prohibiting foreigners from trading with the Indians within the boundaries of the United States. This exclusive legislation was largely due to the influence of John Jacob Astor, who was thus

able to turn the tables on the North West Company, to purchase the posts that were located south of the forty-ninth parallel at bargain prices, and so to secure control of the rich Minnesota territory. Fort Pembina was abandoned and the operations of the Canadian traders on the Red River of the North ceased. In 1821 the British government excluded American traders from the Canadian field, and international competition was transferred to the Columbia.

Even more bitter than the jealousy of foreign rivals was the opposition to government intervention, whether in the form of fees, bonds and penalties, or of official competition. The attack on the government trading houses was led by Thomas H. Benton, the newly elected senator from Missouri and the faithful ally of the St. Louis traders. Astor's influence also was actively hostile. The charges of inefficiency and corruption brought against the government factors were substantiated by such witnesses as Ramsay Crooks, Astor's right-hand man, and the agent for Indian Affairs on the Missouri, Benjamin O'Fallon, who owed his appointment to Astor's influence with the War Department. It was urged that the goods furnished the Indians were inferior to those offered by private traders, that the prices charged were exorbitant, that for these reasons the Indians had ceased to trade at the government factories, and finally, that the impression made on the savage mind by the official factors was far from contributing to the influence of the United States government on the frontier. The superintendent of Indian Trade,

Thomas L. McKinney, protested that the competition of private traders, not the disinclination of the Indians, thwarted the effort of his factors to further the humane purposes of the government and that the latter could not compete against the credit advances permitted the private trader and his clandestine sale of whiskey. The license fee, he argued, should be raised to $200 and the bond to $10,000 in order to eliminate the small trader who peddled whiskey and firearms and otherwise demoralized the trade. The superintendent made out a good case, but the importunities of the fur traders prevailed. The government factories were abolished (March, 1822) and the trade was thrown open to all American citizens who could secure a license, no endorsements being required. The system of fees and penalties was not revived, and the bond, fixed in proportion to capital invested, was never to exceed $5000. The result was a régime of cut-throat competition. The less scrupulous traders practised unblushing frauds upon the Indians and upon each other. The savages were incited to ignore the credit obligation and turn over the proceeds of the winter's hunt to the party first on the ground in the spring, a pernicious practice that was mutually destructive. The fur trade was given over to unbridled license.

Twenty years later (1842), Fremont described the conditions then prevailing at Fort Laramie. "The articles of trade consist, on the one side, almost entirely of buffalo robes; and, on the other, of blankets, calicoes, guns, powder, and lead, with

such cheap ornaments as glass beads, looking-glasses, rings, vermilion for painting, tobacco, and principally, and in spite of the prohibition, of spirits, brought into the country in the form of alcohol, and diluted with water before sold. While mentioning this fact, it is but justice to the American Fur Company to state that, throughout the country, I have always found them strenuously opposed to the introduction of spirituous liquors. But, in the present state of things, when the country is supplied with alcohol, when a keg of it will purchase from an Indian everything he possesses — his furs, his lodge, his horses, and even his wife and children, — and when any vagabond who has money enough to purchase a mule can go into a village and trade against them successfully, without withdrawing entirely from the trade, it is impossible for them to discontinue its use. In their opposition to this practice, the company is sustained, not only by their obligation to the laws of the country and the welfare of the Indians, but clearly, also, on grounds of policy; for, with heavy and expensive outfits, they contend at manifestly great disadvantage against the numerous independent and unlicensed traders, who enter the country from various avenues, from the United States and from Mexico, having no other stock in trade than some kegs of liquor, which they sell at the modest price of thirty-six dollars per gallon. The difference between the regular trader and the *coureur de bois* (as the French call the itinerant or peddling traders) with respect to the sale of spirits, is here, as it always has been,

fixed and permanent, and growing out of the nature of their trade. The regular trader looks ahead, and has an interest in the preservation of the Indians, and in the regular pursuit of their business, and the preservation of their arms, horses, and everything necessary to their future and permanent success in hunting. The *coureur de bois* has no permanent interest, and gets what he can, and for what he can, from every Indian he meets, even at the risk of disabling him from doing anything more at hunting."[44]

The American Fur Company

Disinterested observers most conversant with the situation had repeatedly recommended that the Missouri River trade should be made over for a term of years to an exclusive corporation adequately financed, which, under suitable regulation, should be trusted to develop the region in the conservative fashion practised by the Hudson's Bay Company; but this proposal was regarded as antagonistic to the genius of American institutions and therefore unpatriotic. The only business organization equal to such an enterprise was the American Fur Company, and jealousy of the New York financier was so great that no congressman could be induced to propose so unprecedented a monopoly. Astor, however, had by no means abandoned his purpose of invading the Missouri territory, and in 1822 he established a branch of the American Fur Company at St. Louis. The opposition of his western competitors he overcame by joining forces with the most important of the old houses, *e.g.* Bernard

Pratte & Co., the Chouteaus, the Columbia Fur Company,—so that the ablest men in St. Louis were enlisted in the service of the new enterprise. Besides the old-time Astorians, Ramsay Crooks, Robert Stuart, Russell Farnham, several agents of the Canadian companies, Kenneth Mackenzie, Etienne Provost, Vanderburg, were enlisted. The fusion of the North West with the Hudson's Bay Company had thrown some nine hundred clerks, traders, and trappers out of employment, and these, Scotchmen for the most part, were glad to try their luck with the great American company. Fully conversant with the Missouri country and on excellent terms with the Assiniboins and the Blackfeet, they were able to secure the trade of the northern rivers for their new patron. The Western Department of the American Fur Company (the term Northern Department was henceforth applied to the business centring at Mackinaw) soon developed a trade that quite overshadowed its operations along the Great Lakes, and so far preëmpted the fur trade of the Missouri region that it was commonly known as "the Company," while all outside traders were designated collectively "the Opposition." A post, Fort Union, was built at the mouth of the Yellowstone to intercept the trade with the Assiniboins, which, since it commanded both routes to the beaver grounds, became the depository of the season's catch. Fort Piegan (later Fort Mackenzie and finally Fort Benton) was placed at the mouth of Maria's River to control the Blackfeet country, while Fort Cass, at the junction of the Big Horn, secured the adherence of the Crows.

The limitless resources of the parent company rendered possible experiments and losses which would have ruined any or all of the St. Louis houses. In 1830 a startling innovation was determined on. The keel boat was to be supplanted by steamers for the transportation of goods and furs. Steamboats had been used on the lower river since 1819, but no vessel of such proportions had ventured above the Kansas since the costly experiment of the government in the Aricara campaign. Pierre Chouteau contended, however, that the upper river could be successfully navigated by stern-wheelers, such as the Long party had used with entire success, and that the saving in time and in operating force would be great. Under his auspices, the *Yellowstone* made her virgin voyage in the spring of 1831, achieving the round trip from St. Louis to Fort Tecumseh, at the mouth of the Kansas, in three months, two months up-stream and one down. In the following year, the little craft ascended the river as far as Fort Union. The saving in time and labor was sufficient to justify the adoption of steam, but the impression produced upon the Indians was perhaps the most significant gain. They said that "the British might turn out their dogs and burn their sledges, as they would no longer be useful while the Fire Boat walked on the waters." [45] They began bringing their furs to the Americans by preference, and thenceforth the loss of trade from Hudson's Bay Company competition was no longer dreaded.

By these means the American Fur Company had succeeded in monopolizing the trade on the upper

THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S S.S. "YELLOWSTONE" ON THE MISSOURI.

Missouri, the Yellowstone, and their tributaries, — the apparently inexhaustible beaver meadows revealed by the Lewis and Clark expedition. Rivals were induced to combine forces, were bought off, or were driven from the field by craft or violence, as the situation might suggest. The methods used to crush out competitors were quite comparable to the practices of certain industrial combinations of to-day. The natives were incited to waylay, rob, and even murder trading parties who dared invade the territory covered by the operations of "the Company," prices of furs were advanced and prices of goods lowered when the presence of a rival threatened to seduce the Indians, agents being given *carte blanche* to depart from the established schedules in such business emergencies. Whiskey, though forbidden by law, was freely sold to the Indians in the contested districts, and when the difficulty in getting the contraband stuff up the river past the government inspector at Fort Leavenworth proved too serious, a distillery was set up at Fort Union, and fire-water, "as fine a liquor as need be drunk," was made from the corn grown by the natives. Mackenzie, Crooks, and Chouteau justified this practice on the ground that so long as their irresponsible rivals smuggled liquor into the territory and enticed the Indians away from their posts, they must offer whiskey in trade or abandon the field.[46]

The methods of the American Fur Company were no more reprehensible than those employed by its competitors, but, because of its greater resources,

the warfare waged by its agents was far more cruel and effective. For this reason the sympathy of the public was always with the independent trader. Under Astor's shrewd management, the business was highly systematized and placed on a basis that insured the principal against loss. The stock in trade, whether imported or purchased in the home market, was collected at New York and forwarded thence in the early spring *via* New Orleans and the Mississippi. From St. Louis the goods were despatched to the interior posts by keel boat or steamer as the case might be. The furs collected during the winter hunt were returned over the same routes to New York, the primary market, where they were assorted, made up into bales, and shipped to Europe and China. The resident agent at Kansas Post, Fort Union, Fort Benton, or Fort Cass was charged for his season's supplies at fixed prices that covered the initial cost plus duties and transportation and still allowed a considerable margin of profit, while the price paid for furs was determined each season by the conditions of the foreign market. Whether the year's operations left the local trader with a surplus or a deficit depended on the terms he was able to make with the Indians and trappers on whom he relied to bring in the furs. The credit system still held. In the autumn, after the corn was gathered in, the native hunters came to the post for the supplies without which they could not live through the winter, much less trap beaver. Taking advantage of their necessity, the trader furnished blankets, kettles, firearms, flints, powder and lead, beaver

and muskrat traps, needles, thread, and gewgaws at double the price charged to him. When the braves returned in the spring with the proceeds of the season's hunt, the situation was reversed, the trader was in straits, and the Indians paid as little as they dared of the accumulated debt. The customary rate of account was $2 a pound for beaver, $3 for a land otter skin, from $1 to $1.50 for a buffalo hide, one buckskin, two doeskins, four muskrat or raccoon skins for $1;[47] but often no more than one-half, one-third, or one-fourth the debt would be made good. Moreover, the prices the goods could command had dwindled to half those prevailing in the autumn, so that the trader was hard put to it to clear himself and rarely reaped any considerable profit. These spring settlements were accompanied by acrid altercations which not infrequently resulted in bloodshed, and many a trader lost his life in the service of the far-away commercial potentate popularly known as "Grand-papa."

The *engagés* and free trappers employed by "the Company" endured far more hardships and took greater risks, but their remuneration was hardly more secure. A free trapper on the Missouri contracted to furnish one man and one-half the supplies for the season's hunt. Mackenzie furnished on behalf of the Company two men and half the supplies, was entitled to half the catch, and expected to purchase the remainder, — beaver skins at from $3 to $4 per pound, "castorum" at $3 per pound. An account between Mackenzie and a free trapper,

John Gardner, cited by Chittenden,[48] gives the balance due for thirteen years' service, after supplies had been deducted from credits against beaver and otter skins brought in, as $930, — not a munificent reward for half a lifetime of strenuous labor. Ugly stories were current to the effect that even this pittance was sometimes withheld and that employees who ventured to St. Louis to present their claims had been murdered *en route*. The white trapper was hardly better off than the Indian, for he paid the same inflated prices for advances (*e.g.* one blanket $12, one axe $6, one kettle $5, the shoeing of a horse $3, etc.), and he, like the Indian, spent one-third his returns in liquor and feasting. The system was a demoralizing one to all concerned. The Indians were induced to abandon the occupations that had made them self-supporting, in order that they might devote their energies to the hunt. In fact, the advantage of the trader increased as his tribe became dependent upon the post for a livelihood. The white men employed earned a bare subsistence, while in the lonely life of the post or the inevitable brutalities of the hunt they degenerated to a status hardly to be distinguished from that of the savage.

Astor's contribution to the success of the American Fur Company was that of entrepreneur. The first financial genius of the age, he determined the markets in which to buy supplies and sell furs, and his world-wide commercial operations gave him every advantage. Supplies were sent out with unfailing regularity, and the disasters of one department were

offset by the successes of another. In trade competition this plenitude of resources rendered victory sure, for the great Company could ruin a rival by the manipulation of prices. The influence Astor exercised at Washington was used unhesitatingly to promote favorable and defeat adverse legislation, as well as to protect his agents against the too zealous espionage of government officials. For example, the right of Astor's Mackinaw boats to descend the Mississippi was challenged by St. Louis traders on the ground that they were manned by Canadians. One boat was captured and the *bourgeois* arrested. Astor's influence secured the vindication of the right of the American Fur Company's agents to navigate the Mississippi rivers, and the appointment of an Indian agent (Benjamin O'Fallon) less amenable to the St. Louis houses. The same astute genius did much to placate public criticism by politic favors to scientists and men in position; *e.g.* Bradbury and Nuttall were carried up the Missouri by Hunt's party; Catlin, the painter, ascended the river in the Company's steamboat in 1832; and a similar service was rendered to Maximilien, Prince of Wied, in 1833.

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company

In 1821 a new company was organized by the St. Louis traders, Americans and pioneers all of them. General W. H. Ashley, the prime mover, was a Virginian who had come to Missouri in 1802 and borne a prominent part in the development of the territory. His second, Andrew Henry, was the fearless trapper who had crossed the continental

divide and built a post on westward-flowing water in advance of Hunt's party. Returning from that disastrous experience, he had accumulated some property in the lead mines, but was now ready to join this new venture in the fur trade. With these veterans were associated on a profit-sharing basis a number of younger men, Jedidiah S. Smith (a New Yorker), William L. and Milton G. Sublette, Solomon P. Andrew (a Kentuckian), David E. Jackson, James Bridger (a Virginian), Thomas Fitzpatrick and Robert Campbell (Irishmen),—frontiersmen whose courage and resourcefulness no less than their unscrupulous daring recalled the best days of the North West Company. The first expeditions up the Missouri were unfortunate. Henry's party was robbed by the Assiniboins, and he pushed on to Great Falls only to be driven back by the Blackfeet (1822). The following year, Ashley's boats were attacked by the Aricaras and forced to retreat down the river. After the Leavenworth campaign, a more aggressive enterprise was projected, no less than the founding of a fort for protection of the trappers. Henry proceeded up the Yellowstone with a large party and built a post at its junction with the Big Horn; but a band of hostiles killed several of the trappers and carried off the horses.

In this same year, a more successful expedition under Henry, Bridger, and Etienne Provost followed the North Platte River to the South Pass and beyond to Green River. This, the easiest of all the passes across the Rockies, had been used for ages by the buffalo and the Indians, but was now

for the first time utilized by the traders. It led to beaver-bearing streams hardly less profitable than those of the upper Missouri, and the party returned with a fine take of furs. The operations of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company were immediately transferred to this uncontested field. In 1824 Ashley went out in person to explore the new territory, followed the South Platte into the labyrinth of mountain ranges that make up western Colorado, and forced his way through to the Green River. In an attempt to follow down this dangerous stream his boat was wrecked, but the indomitable leader made his way on foot to Sevier Lake (called Ashley Lake by the traders) and, later, north to Great Salt Lake. The Hudson's Bay Company's trappers had come as far south as Bear Lake that year, and Peter Skeene Ogden, their patron, had cached his first season's take in a lovely mountain valley, long famous as Ogden's Hole. Ashley appropriated the furs as treasure trove and thereby recouped his desperate fortunes.[49]

For ten years, thereafter, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company justified its name, being in full control of the bleak desert between the Snake River and the Colorado. The Digger Indians could not be depended on to bring in furs, and Ashley was forced to rely on free trappers. Every stream and mountain park that harbored beaver was diligently searched out by the intrepid men who summered and wintered in this inhospitable region. Supplies were brought out by the spring brigade, up the North Platte and over the South Pass to the desig-

nated *rendezvous*. Ashley did not attempt to build trading posts, but brought his whole force together at an appointed time and place, where the trappers exchanged their season's catch of furs for pork, flour, sugar and tea, clothing, ammunition and whiskey. Irving's description of the *rendezvous* at Green River is too well known to require quoting here.[50] The return trip was made by pack train or, when the rivers served, by boat. From South Pass the preferred route was by way of the Big Horn, Yellowstone, and Missouri rivers, — streams always navigable for the bull boats which the traders had adopted. The first wheeled vehicles to cross the plains north of the Santa Fé Trail were sent to Ashley's *rendezvous* on Lake Utah in 1826 or 1827. Ashley's success in this unexploited country was immediate and highly satisfactory. The return from the hunt of 1824 was one hundred packs of beaver, that of 1826, one hundred and twenty-three, that of 1827, one hundred and thirty. In the latter year he made over the business to Smith, Sublette, and Jackson and settled at St. Louis, where he realized a very comfortable income by supplying goods to the traders in the field, receiving their furs in payment.

The new firm did not prosper financially, for the heyday of the fur trade was past. Their great achievements were geographical, the unwitting result of the search for fresh hunting-grounds. An obscure hunter, taking a daring wager, followed the circuitous course of the Bear River and launched his canoe on the treacherous waters of Salt Lake. Etienne

Uintah Post, Robidoux' Headquarters among the Utes.

Provost rediscovered Utah Lake, coming in by way of the Provo River, to the north of Escallante's trail. In 1824 Jedidiah Smith, turning north from South Pass, followed up the Green River to the Snake and came upon the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Fort Boisé. In the summer of 1826 he set out from Salt Lake with a party of fifteen men to explore the country to the southwest. He ascended the Sevier valley to the mountainous land of the Pah Utes and thence followed the Virgin River to the Colorado, where he found Indians cultivating corn, beans, melons, and even cotton. Here he purchased fresh horses out of a herd stolen from the Spaniards and undertook to cross the desert that lay west of the Colorado. A runaway neophyte served as guide and brought the party after three weeks' desperate march to San Gabriel and San Diego. The alarm of the *commandante* at this undreamed of invasion had nearly thwarted Smith's hopes. He and his men were detained for a time and his journal was confiscated and despatched to the City of Mexico.[51] Forbidden to visit the Spanish settlements along the coast, the Americans turned directly north and crossed Tehatchepi Pass into the San Joaquin valley, where they found plenty of beaver. Here they trapped during the winter of 1826–1827, and in the spring the fearless leader set out with two men, seven horses, and two pack-mules loaded with hay and food, to seek fresh supplies at the *rendezvous*. He made his way over the Sierras by the Merced River and Sonora Pass. (Smith called the Sierra Range Mt. Joseph.) The snow lay in heavy

drifts from four to eight feet deep and men and animals suffered severely, but the feat was accomplished in eight days. The march across the Great American Desert, a region "arid and without game or vegetation," was made in twenty days. From the rocky ridges that cross this waste of sand and sage-brush, rivulets of good water flowed, but only to be immediately sucked down by the thirsty earth. It was impossible to carry much luggage and the party was sometimes without water for two days' march. No help could be had from the Digger Indians, the most wretched of human beings, whose food was snakes and lizards taken with the hands and whose only shelter was the wickiup of sage-brush. When the daring party arrived at Salt Lake, but one horse and one mule remained alive, and the men were so exhausted that they could hardly stagger under the meagre remnant of their equipment. Stopping at Salt Lake only long enough to secure a new outfit, Smith again set out for California to recover his trappers and their accumulation of furs. While crossing the Virgin River the party was attacked by Indians, and ten of the men and all the supplies were lost; but this dauntless pathfinder made his way across the desert to San Gabriel Mission and, leaving there two wounded men, proceeded by ship to Monterey. He was again arrested as a dangerous character, and again American sea-captains were found to stand sponsor for his good intentions. He was released (November, 1827), on condition that he should withdraw from California within two months.

Smith was a man of his word; but instead of attempting to cross the Sierras, an impossible feat in midwinter, he went north to the first tributary of the Sacramento (thereafter called American Fork) and trapped along that valley until the floods had subsided. Then in April, 1828, the party followed an Indian trail up the Shasta River, over Siskyou Pass, and down Rogue River to the Umpqua. There, during Smith's absence, the party got into trouble with the Indians, the camp was attacked, the men killed, the horses stolen, and the luggage carried away. Smith and the two men with him found their way down the Willamette to Fort Vancouver. Dr. McLoughlin received the survivors with characteristic generosity, gave them quarters at the Fort, and despatched his stepson McKay with an adequate force to punish the Umpquas and recover the stolen property. With characteristic justice, he paid the American trader the current price for the furs, traps, and horses, deducting only the actual cost of the punitive expedition. With business shrewdness equally characteristic, the chief factor stipulated that one of Smith's men should remain to serve as guide to the beaver grounds of the Sacramento valley. In the autumn of 1828, McLeod was sent south to prosecute the trade in this promising district.

Smith remained at Fort Vancouver throughout the winter of 1828–1829 and accompanied the spring brigade to Spokane House and Flat Head Post; there, turning south, he followed the Indian trail to Henry's Fork of Snake River. By lucky chance,

the *rendezvous* for that year was appointed at Pierre's Hole, and there the wanderers found Sublette and Jackson and the Rocky Mountain men in full force. Smith insisted that henceforth the hunt should be carried on east of the divide so that they should not trench upon the territory claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The operations of 1829–1830 were restricted to the Big Horn, Yellowstone, and upper Missouri valleys and were highly successful in spite of severe weather, hostile Blackfeet, and the jealous machinations of the American Fur Company. In the spring of 1830, Sublette went to St. Louis for supplies and returned in the following spring up the North Platte and over South Pass to the *rendezvous* on Green River with cattle and milch cows and a train of ten wagons. In the autumn of 1832, the partners came back to St. Louis with one hundred and ninety packs of beaver, worth $95,000, and realized a profit that enabled them to retire from the business. William Sublette followed Ashley's example and opened a wholesale supply business, while Jackson and Smith went into the Santa Fé trade, an enterprise that promised to realize better returns with less labor and risk to life and limb.

Younger men succeeded to the direction of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Milton G. Sublette, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and James Bridger led the brigades to the annual *rendezvous*, and their free trappers explored every beaver-bearing stream between Green River and the Missouri, overlapping the region claimed by the American Fur Company,

and the Missouri River posts retaliated by sending their men to the Big Horn. The fame of Ashley's winnings attracted adventurers from the eastern states, who entered the arena hopefully, with little conception of its hazard. At the *rendezvous* held at Pierre's Hole in 1832, Fitzpatrick encountered Vanderburg and Drips — Astor's agents — Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who had brought out a band of raw recruits from New England, and Captain Bonneville, also a novice in the trade, whose elaborate equipment was highly amusing to the experienced men.[52]

The movements of mere adventurers could be ig-

Bonneville's Map of the Rocky Mountains, 1837.

nored, and Wyeth and Bonneville were not molested; but the two great companies locked horns in a life and death combat. Vanderburg attempted to fol-

low Fitzpatrick and find out his hunting-grounds, and the latter led him astray into the Blackfeet country where he and his party fell into an ambush and were destroyed. Fitzpatrick, in turn, was robbed by the Crows at the instigation of the American Fur Company's men, and his furs were restored to him only on payment of the price paid the Indians. The natives were demoralized by the unscrupulous methods of the whites, and the *engagés* were taught reckless knavery. The rival agents spied upon each other's business operations with all the zeal of a modern "trust," and a man transferring from one service to another ran the risk of persecution, even murder. In spite of its brilliant achievements and the superior calibre of the men in its service, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was the loser in this cut-throat competition. Ashley had been the organizing genius of the business, and there was no one to take his place. The courage, resourcefulness and ingenuity of Smith, Fitzpatrick, Bridger, and other brave men could make little headway against the limitless financial resources of Astor's company. Losses which meant ruin to them were a negligible quantity in the balance-sheet of a great corporation whose deficits in one field were sure to be offset by gains in another.

Chittenden estimates that during the twelve years of its career the Rocky Mountain Fur Company shipped to St. Louis one thousand packs of beaver worth $500 a pack.[53] The losses in goods and furs and horses injured or stolen he estimates at $100,000, the human loss at one hundred lives. The bulk of the profits accrued to General Ashley and W. L. Sublette,

even after they had withdrawn from the partnership, for they manipulated the prices of goods and furs so as to skim the cream off the returns. None of the other partners made money, and most of them, as well as the major part of the free trappers and *engagés*, were eventually wrecked in health and fortune.

The great and permanent achievements of the Rocky Mountain men were quite independent of financial success or failure. They opened up a new fur country at the head waters of the Snake, the Green, and the Big Horn rivers,—streams that, rising in the Wind River Mountains, the core of the continent, diverge to east, south, and west, and empty into the Pacific, the Gulf of California, and the Gulf of Mexico. They first explored that vast tract of mountain and desert, the Cordilleran area; they discovered the Great Salt, the Utah and Sevier lakes; they traced the Snake, the Green, and the Colorado rivers from mountain source to the sea; they demonstrated the practicability of the South Pass, Walker's Pass, and other routes over the Rockies and the Sierras. When the United States government undertook to explore the Far West, the topographical engineers were fain to enlist the services of "mountain men" like Kit Carson and James Bridger. Finally, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company cleared the way for settlers by the long and relentless warfare they carried on with the nomad Indian tribes, the Blackfeet, Aricaras, Crows, Comanches, and Pah Utes, between whom and the traders there was never a truce. Not the United States army nor the treaties so carefully

negotiated by the Indian Department, but the trappers' rifles, taught the redman respect for the white man's capacity for self-defense.

Section VI

Decline of the Fur Trade

By 1840, all profit had vanished for the independent trader. The beaver dams were practically exhausted, and even the less important furs, as otter, mink, fox, and lynx, were hard to get. The buffalo herds, which had seemed limitless, were fast diminishing, yet they kept the fur trade alive for twenty years after the beaver were trapped out. The original range of the bison was from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf; but they had disappeared from the eastern side of the Mississippi by the end of the eighteenth century and were rarely found east of the Missouri after the first decade of the nineteenth. For fifty years thereafter, they ranged the Great Plains. They varied their feeding grounds with the season, pushing far to the north in the summer when the bunch grass was richest, retreating before the snows across the rolling prairies of the Platte and the Kansas, to winter on the "staked plains" of Texas. To the Indian the buffalo was the staff of life; to the white man he furnished important articles of commerce. The hide, the tongue, the tallow were in great demand, and the fur traders exercised their utmost ingenuity to supply the market. The annual yield for the decade from 1840 to 1850 was estimated at ninety thousand robes;

that from 1850 to 1860, at one hundred thousand. Not more than one-third the buffalo killed were represented in the trade, for there was enormous waste. The hides of the bulls were never used, and those of the cows were fit for dressing during the winter months only.

When Fremont crossed the Plains (1842), the buffalo range was confined to "the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, sometimes extending at their southern extremity to a considerable distance into the plains between the Platte and Arkansas rivers, and along the eastern frontier of New Mexico as far south as Texas." Fitzpatrick told him that some twenty years before there were immense numbers of buffalo in the Green and Bear river valleys, but the hunters had driven them from this retreat to the upper reaches of Snake River. Fremont describes the "great highways, continuous for hundreds of miles, always several inches, and sometimes several feet in depth, which the buffalo have made in crossing from one river to another, or in traversing the mountain ranges."[54] Stansbury adds: "When the emigration first commenced, travelling trains were frequently detained for hours by immense herds crossing their track, and in such numbers that it was impossible to drive through them."[55] As white men increased, slaughter augmented with reckless glee. Burton, who followed the mail route in 1859, estimated that the annual destruction amounted to two or three hundred thousand. By that time the buffalo was rarely seen on the trail, and the hunters followed the herds into the wild country; but buffalo steaks, always

regarded as more nutritious and wholesome than beef, were furnished at the wayside inns.

The annual take of the American Fur Company in 1832, according to Maximilien, Prince of Wied, was twenty-five thousand beaver skins worth $8 apiece, from forty to fifty thousand buffalo hides worth $4 each, from twenty to thirty thousand deerskins worth $1 each, from one to two thousand lynx, two thousand mink, two to three thousand fox, of which only the silver fox was valuable (twenty to thirty skins at $60 each), and as many muskrats as they chose to accept, from one thousand to one hundred thousand. The total value of the furs received amounted in the early thirties to $500,000 a year. It was evident to any one acquainted with the situation that this yield could not long be maintained. In 1834, John Jacob Astor, then in London looking into the European markets, became convinced that the profitable days of the fur trade were past. The beaver meadows were nearing exhaustion, and the market for the fur was declining. "It appears that they make hats of silk in place of beaver." He returned ready to sell his interest in the American Fur Company, and it was taken over by Ramsay Crooks, who had for some time been in charge of the New York department and was now backed by Pratte, Chouteau & Co., of St. Louis. The new firm bought out Fitzpatrick, Sublette, and Bridger this same year and the Union Fur Company in 1845.

Thenceforth the American Fur Company was in full control of the Rocky Mountain trade, but the industry was declining, as Astor had foreseen, and the

ablest men of the frontier were turning to other pursuits. Even in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory beyond the divide, the receipts from the trapping expeditions were dwindling. According to N. J. Wyeth, the revenue from sales of peltry taken in the western district of the Hudson's Bay Company, the region between the forty-second and the forty-ninth parallel, the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, did not amount to more than $138,000 a year, — not a large gross return considering the heavy expenditures (*e.g.* $20,000 on goods shipped from London, the vessels required to transport goods and furs, the services of three hundred and fifty employees, and two years' interest on the capital). The annual net profit of the Hudson Bay Company, did not, he believed, exceed $10,000. "My impression is, notwithstanding the great disparity of the money value of the objects exchanged in this trade, that it has been less profitable than any other in which as much danger of life and property is incurred." This experienced and disinterested observer anticipated a steady decline in revenue from this source. "The furs produced in this country have heretofore been of considerable value, and doubtless will furnish a means, to a small extent, for supplying the wants of a new country; but that business has been carried to its full limit; it may for a few years be kept up to its present point of production, but must soon decrease, especially if the country is thrown open to emigrants, most of whom will become dealers to a greater or less degree in it, and many will turn to the more exciting and immediate profits of the hunter, rather than to the slow labors

of the farmer." [56] After visiting the posts in 1841 Governor Simpson wrote: "I am concerned to say the returns are gradually diminishing from year to year; this arises from no want of attention to the management of the district, but from the exhausted state of the country, which has been closely wrought for many years without any intermission." [57]

The trappers and traders were dying out quite as rapidly as the beaver. Exposure, drink, and the hostility of the Indians were destroying them one by one. Their wages were spent in the carouses that disgraced the *rendezvous* and the trading posts. Few had accumulated property enough to return to the civilized world. Alexander Ross, who had long experience with the Hudson's Bay Company and knew the American traders, estimates the comparative chances of success as follows: "In the fur trade of the north many have attained to a competency, not a few to independence, and many have realized fortunes after a servitude of years; but in the slippery and ruinous traffic of the south many fortunes have been lost, and an awful sacrifice made of human life; so that of all the adventurers engaged, for half a century past, in the fur trade of that licentious quarter, few, very few indeed, ever left it with even a bare competency." [58]

The best of the "mountain men" settled down in some fertile valley or mountain meadow, built a cabin for the Indian wife and half-breed children, and managed to provide food, clothing, and whiskey by trapping during the winter and farming during the summer months. Farnham describes such a man, one

Joseph Meek, whom he met on Bear River. "He came to the mountains many years ago — and has so long associated with Indians, that his manners much resemble theirs. The same wild, unsettled, watchful expression of the eyes; the same unnatural gesticulation in conversation, the same unwillingness to use words when a sign, a contortion of the face or body, or movement of the hand will manifest thought; in standing, walking, riding — in all but complexion he was an Indian. . . . Meek was evidently very poor. He had scarcely clothing enough to cover his body. And while talking with us the frosty winds which sucked up the valley, made him shiver like an aspen leaf. He reverted to his destitute situation, and complained of the injustice of his former employers; the little remuneration he had received for the toils and dangers he had endured on their account, &c.; a complaint which I had heard from every trapper whom I had met on my journey." [59]

In his *Forty Years of a Fur Trader*, Charles Larpenteur has given a graphic account of the vicissitudes of the life for a man distinctly above the average mentally and morally. A Frenchman of good birth, he went from Baltimore to Missouri to seek his fortune, and entered the service of Sublette & Co. in 1832, at a yearly salary of $296 and supplies. His description of the sufferings of horses and men on the long marches to the *rendezvous* bears internal evidence of authenticity. When his patron sold out to Fitzpatrick, Larpenteur found a berth with the American Fur Company and served under Kenneth Mackenzie,

"the king of the Missouri," for the next fifteen years. He was assistant clerk at Fort Union at a salary of $350 a year, with food and living quarters and one suit of broadcloth furnished. Larpenteur was not only intelligent but temperate, and he won the confidence of his superiors mainly by his ability to keep sober during the wild carousals which left every other man, white and red, *engagé*, trapper, clerk, and factor, dead drunk for days at a time. Strong drink was, according to this Frenchman, the curse of the trade. Equally destructive from a business point of view was the competitive warfare waged by the upstart companies that endeavored to invade the territory long monopolized by the "big house." Fox, Livingstone & Co., of New York, set up a post, Fort Mortimer, on the Yellowstone in 1846, and for four years maintained a precarious existence through enticing the American Fur Company's trappers to desert by promises of higher wages, and secured first innings in the Indian trade by lavish dispensing of liquor. No sooner had this firm sold out than a new "opposition" arose, Harvey, Pruneau & Co., former clerks of the Great Company, and the business degenerated from bad to worse.

At forty years of age, Larpenteur, grown pigheaded and captious, quarrelled with his superiors and determined to quit the fur trade and take his Assiniboin wife and half-breed children to the Flathead mission of which Father de Smet had told him. In company with another trade-weary Frenchman (1847), he set out up the Missouri, meaning to cross the mountains by the Lewis and Clark Pass. The

Fort Bridger, 1849.

Fort Laramie, 1853.

little caravan of two wagons, two carts, and eight pack horses succeeded in reaching Sun River with no serious mishap, but there a brush with the Blackfeet and the approach of winter turned them back. The two families made a second attempt the following year, mounted this time on horseback, and got as far as Great Falls; but they were a second time forced back by hardships too severe for even Indian women to endure, and Larpenteur returned to the service of the American Fur Company. Two years' experience convinced him that "there was nothing more to be made in the Indian trade," [60] and he bought a claim on the Little Sioux River, meaning to "open a small farm." The place lay in the path of the Mormon migration, and realizing that "settlers were coming in fast," the old trader thought he saw a chance to make money more rapidly than by growing corn. He built a store and a blacksmith shop for the use of emigrants and ran a ferry across the river, borrowing heavily to finance these improvements. He might have succeeded had not the crisis of 1857 ruined his credit.

The resources of civilization having failed him, Larpenteur again turned to the wilderness and joined a party that proposed to hunt buffalo in the Assiniboin country. To avoid the hostile Sioux, the eight wagons and eleven men travelled far north by way of St. Paul and the Red River of the North, which they crossed on the bridge at Pembina, and so up the Souris River to the Missouri. The hunt was successful, and they were returning well satisfied, with two thousand robes, when the news that the outbreak of

the Civil War had shut off the foreign market and halved the price of furs balked their expectations of profit. Turning again to his old employers, Larpenteur found the Great Company disintegrating. As a sympathizer with the Confederacy, Chouteau was refused a license to trade with the Indians and was obliged to sell his interests to a Chicago firm (Hulbard, Hawley & Co.; A. B. Smith, manager) which, under the title of the North West Company, carried on the languishing trade. All the old loyalty lost, Larpenteur worked first for this house and then for "the Opposition," and again on his own account, and finally died a pauper.

More fortunate were some of the traders who, by the aid of *engagés* and Indians, converted their posts into productive farms and raised supplies for the fast-coming emigrants. Colonel A. P. Chouteau had a large farm in the Osage country (1831), "where he raises every article of necessary food and in greater abundance than is necessary for himself, his very numerous family and followers." [61] Lupton's trading post at Fort Lancaster on the South Platte is described by Fremont. "His post was beginning to assume the appearance of a comfortable farm; stock, hogs, and cattle were ranging about on the prairie; there were different kinds of poultry; and there was the wreck of a promising garden, in which a considerable variety of vegetables had been in a flourishing condition, but it had been almost entirely ruined by the recent high waters." [62] The most important of these attempts of the fur traders to adjust themselves to the new order was Fort Bridger, the palisaded post built by James

Bridger on the Black Fork of Green River. This famous frontiersman knew at first hand the vast Cordilleran wilderness from the Missouri River to the Rio Grande and from the Gila to the Columbia. "With a buffalo-skin and a piece of charcoal, he will map out any portion of this immense region, and delineate mountains, streams, and the circular valleys called 'holes,' with wonderful accuracy." [63] Their intimate knowledge of the Far West gave the "mountain men" an advantage in the selection of settlement sites, and when the pioneer farmers arrived on the ground they usually found some old trapper or trader squatting on the most fertile and best watered land.

NOTES

VOLUME I

Part I

Chapter I

[1] Humboldt, *New Spain*, II, 248.

[2] Venegas, writing in 1758, is quite in doubt as to whether the straits of Anian are not "altogether imaginary" and concludes: "We must wait for the solution till the same spirit of discovery that brought us first acquainted with the Indies and with America, reveals to us with equal certainty, whether it is sea or land, or a mixture of both, that intervenes between these two mighty continents." Venegas, *History of California*, I, Preface A 4.

[3] Edward Everett Hale first pointed out the relation between Montalvos' romance, the Deeds of Esplandian, and Cortès' discovery. In *Atlantic Monthly*, XIII, 265; cf. Bancroft, *California*, I, 66; Venegas, *California*, I, 131–132.

[4] Lyman (*History of Oregon*, I, Chap. V) gives several Indian traditions of such wrecks that antedate Gray's discovery of the Columbia, *e.g.* A ship was driven ashore at Nehalem River, the crew saved their lives, but were later killed by the natives. The ship's cargo of beeswax drifted in and was scattered on the sands. Some of the cakes which were preserved showed the mark I. H. S., which indicated that they were intended for a mission church. From another vessel wrecked off the south shore, two men escaped and were hospitably received by the Clatsops. One of them, called Konapee by the Indians, fashioned iron knives from the wreckage and possessed bright pieces of silver like Chinese *cash*. One ship came close inshore and landed a boat bringing a box which was buried on the cliff.

Franchère, *Narrative*, 248, describes a man of Spanish antecedents whom the Astorians found on the Columbia.

"We found here an old blind man, who gave us a cordial reception. Our guide said that he was a white man, and that his name was *Soto*. We learned from the mouth of the old man himself that he was the son of a Spaniard who had been wrecked at the mouth of the river; that a part of the crew on this occasion got safe ashore, but were all massacred by the Clatsops, with the exception of four, who were spared and who married native women; that these four Spaniards, of whom his father was one, disgusted with the savage life, attempted to reach a settlement of their own nation toward the south, but had never been heard of since; and that when his father, with his companions, left the country, he himself was yet quite young."

[5] Drake, *The World Encompassed*, 118.

[6] Winship, *Journey of Coronado*, 11.

[7] Winship, *Coronado*, 22.

[8] The Spanish word *pueblo* means town. In American parlance it has come to signify those peculiar "joint tenements" built by the Zuñi, Moqui, and Tigua Indians.

[9] Winship, *Coronado*, 23.

[10] Winship, *Coronado*, 26.

[11] Winship, *Coronado*, 30. This may have been the *pitaya cocida*, a preserve still made by the Mexicans from the fruit of the *suharo* (giant cactus), or the *tulapai*, a fermented drink which the Apaches distil from the same luscious fruit.

[12] Winship, *Coronado*, 99.

[13] The buffalo was first described by Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and was numerous to the east of the mountains. Cf. *Journey*, 94.

[14] Winship, *Coronado*, 38. The Pueblo Indians had no sheep before the Spanish conquest. According to Bandelier, their blankets were probably made of strips of rabbit skin woven into a heavy fabric. — Bandelier, *Final Report*.

[15] "This country was elevated and full of low twisted pines, very cold, and lying open towards the north, so that, this being the warm season, no one could live there on account of the cold. They spent three days on this bank looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water was six feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide. It was impossible to descend, for after these three days Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion, who were the three lightest and most agile men, made an attempt to go down at the least difficult place, and went down until those who were above were unable to keep sight of them. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, not having succeeded in reaching the bottom on account of the great difficulties which they found, because what seemed to be easy from above was not so, but instead very hard and difficult. They said that they had been down about a third of the way and that the river seemed very large from the place which they reached, and that from what they saw they thought the Indians had given the width correctly. Those who stayed above had estimated that some huge rocks on the sides of the cliffs seemed to be about as tall as a man, but those who went down swore that when they reached these rocks they were bigger than the great tower of Seville. They did not go farther up the river, because they could not get water." — Winship, *Coronado*, 35–36.

[16] Winship, *Coronado*, 41.

[17] Castañeda estimated that there were sixty-six villages "in the country of the terraced houses," twenty thousand fighting men, and some hundred thousand people. Of the *pueblos* seen by Coronado's party, Acoma

alone remains standing. Full account, given in Winship, *Coronado*, Part III, Chap. VII; Bandelier, *Final Report*, Part I, 34.

[18] Winship, *Coronado*, 43.

[19] Winship, *Coronado*, 139–140.

[20] Winship, *Coronado*, 75–76.

[21] Winship, *Coronado*, 66.

[22] These folks live in tents made of the tanned skins of the cows. They travel around near the cows, killing them for food. — Winship, *Coronado*, 65. Bandelier identifies these nomads of the plains with the Apaches.

[23] Rumors of the martyrdom of these missionaries of the faith filled the Franciscans with zeal to undertake the conversion of the northern heathen.

[24] Winship, *Coronado*, 115.

[25] Winship, *Coronado*, 146.

Chapter II

[1] The *encomienda* was an institution allied to the feudal practice of commendation. The viceroy and governors were empowered to assign the native villages or *rancherias* to the nearest landowners. The *encomendero* was under obligation to instruct, sustain, and protect his Indian vassals, to defend the province against attack, and render other military service at the summons of the governor. He was entitled to a certain amount of personal service from the people on his estate, but he might not legally extort tribute, sell or give away his dependents or take them out of the province, nor might they be forfeited in payment for debt. They might not be forced to work in mines or manufactures, and the viceroy was commanded to punish severely any maltreatment. In case of abuse an Indian had the right of appeal to the *Royal Audencia*. — *Leyes de las Indias*, Libro Sexto.

[2] The creole was of pure Spanish blood but born in the colony. The *mestizo* was of mixed blood.

[3] The Spanish explorers greatly exaggerated the population of the *pueblos*. Bandelier thinks it cannot have exceeded 25,000 at the time of the conquest. — *Final Report*, I, 121.

[4] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 260.

[5] To every settler and his descendants was accorded by the king's command the status of *hidalgo* or nobleman. — Pedro Pino, *Noticias*, 3.

[6] "The village was very strong, because it was up on a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps, then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means

of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn, and cisterns to collect snow and water." — Winship, *Coronado*, 39.

[7] The term applied to an Indian village.

[8] Gregg, writing in 1839, says that the Pueblo Indians were then "considered the best horticulturists in the country, furnishing most of the fruits and a large portion of the vegetable supplies that are to be found in the markets. They were until very lately the only people in New Mexico who cultivated the grape. They also maintain at the present time considerable herds of cattle, horses, etc. They are, in short, a remarkably sober and industrious race, conspicuous for morality and honesty, and very little given to quarrelling or dissipation, except when they have had much familiar intercourse with the Hispano-Mexican population." — *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 55. Cf. President's Message, 1854, 429.

[9] The decrees of Charles V (1523, 1533, 1551) dictated that each Indian village should be granted as much cultivated land as might be necessary for its sustenance, and that the mountain forests and pastures should be used in common by Indians and Spaniards. The extent of the *pueblo* lands was later defined (1682) as four square leagues for each community, but these grants were not formally assigned till the eighteenth century. This arable land was to remain a tribal possession, and no individual was at liberty to sell or alienate to outsiders except by express permission of the *Protectores de los Indios*.

[10] *Desordines que se advier en el Nuevo Mexico*. De Morfi seems to have been a man of affairs. He accompanied Croix to Texas in 1778 and wrote the *Diario*, also *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*.

[11] A *fanega*, the common measure for grain, is equivalent to two bushels.

[12] The organization of the caravan is thus described by a contemporary: "Forty leagues from Santa Fé in the parish called Joya de Sevilleta, all those participating come together in the last days of November, with freight, firearms, ammunition, arrows, shields, horses, etc. Everything is passed in review, and when the number of men (five hundred) for the trip is made up, they indicate those who are to take turns on the journey, in the vanguard, rear and centre; those who are to take care of the horses and mules; those who have to serve as sentinels (the number regularly exceeds one hundred); the night guards who must keep ears to the ground on dark nights to make sure whether they hear steps and avoid the surprises they are accustomed to suffer. As to the provisions which are necessary, they exceed six hundred *fanegas* of wheat flour made up into toasted bread which they call *biscochos*, more than one hundred steers converted into *tassago* (pemican), one hundred and fifty *fanegas* of *pinole* (parched corn), a corresponding quantity of *frijoles*, *garbanzos*, some mutton; also the barrels to carry the water in the deserts, like that called *Jornado del Muerto* (Journey of Death), where one must ride more

than thirty leagues without finding any water. All these preparations have been insufficient in some years to enable them to escape from the cunning of the *gentiles* (Apaches)." — Pino, *Noticias*, 71–72.

[13] Coues, *Pike*, II, 563.

[14] Coues, *Pike*, II, 606.

[15] Coues, *Pike*, II, 607.

[16] Coues, *Pike*, II, 608, 611.

[17] Coues, *Pike*, II, 685.

[18] Coues, *Pike*, II, 740.

[19] Coues, *Pike*, II, 740–741.

[20] Coues, *Pike*, II, 656.

[21] Coues, *Pike*, II, 675.

Pedro Pino, *Noticias historicas y estadtsticas de la antiqua provincia del Nuevo Mexico.*

[23] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 333.

[24] That this was an Indian contrivance is proved by the discovery of the *uso* in the extinct villages of the Gila River valley.

[25] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 338.

[26] Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 145.

[27] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 289.

[28] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 322–324.

[29] The first census taken in New Mexico, that of 1827, reported a population of 43,433, and the following category of occupations: agricultural laborers, 6588; day laborers, 2475; artisans, 1237; merchants, 93; schoolmasters, 17; scholars, 18.

The wealth of the province was estimated in its cattle as follows: cattle, 5000, valued at $40,000; sheep and goats, 240,000, valued at $120,000; horses, 550, value $5500; mules 2150, value $53,750; mares, 300, value $2400.

In 1840 the population was reckoned at 55,403. — Pino, Revised *Noticias*.

[30] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, 26, 28.

[31] Joliet's journal was lost by shipwreck as he descended the St. Lawrence.

[32] Cox, *La Salle*, I, 26.

[33] The king's commission empowered La Salle to explore "the western part of New France," "through which it was probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico." The ultimate aim of the expedition may have been the silver mines of New Biscay (Nueva Vizcaya).

[34] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 47.

[35] The stream and bay are still known as Lavaca, from the Spanish equivalent.

[36] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 66.

[37] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 69.

[38] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 94.

[39] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 95.

[40] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 95.

[41] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 101.

[42] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 128.

[43] Duhaut and Liotot were later shot by Hiens, with whom they had quarrelled over the distribution of the scanty stock of food.

[44] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 151.

[45] Cox, *La Salle*, II 185.

[46] Cox, *La Salle*, II, 127–128.

[47] Du Pratz, *Louisiana*, London Edition, 198–200.

[48] These common fields were donated to every colony by both French and Spanish governments, the grants were confirmed by the United States Congress, and this primitive system of land tenure has been perpetuated to the present day. Edward Flagg, who visited several of these villages in 1838, noted that "A single enclosure was erected and kept in repair at the expense of the villages, and the lot of every individual was separated from his neighbor's by a double furrow." — Flagg, *Far West*, Pt. I, 96. Cf. Bradbury, *Travels*, 259–261.

[49] Pike found him still at work there in 1805, when his annual output was from twenty to forty thousand pounds. The ore was easily smelted, and yielded seventy-five per cent metallic lead. After Dubuque's death, in 1810, the works were abandoned.

[50] Culbert and Magilhay, who were established near Cottonwood Creek.

[51] L'année des Batteaux.

[52] Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, 269–270.

[53] The term *presidio* is applied to any fortified post. Its garrison served as a guard to the missions.

[54] For first hand account of the mission of La Conception, San Antonio, see the report of 1762 quoted in Garrison's *Texas*, 56–60.

[55] The *metate*, the stone mortar in universal use among the aborigines of the southwest.

[56] *Reducidos*, the term used to designate the converted or subjugated Indians.

[57] Altamira estimated in 1744 that the colonization of Texas had cost 3,000,000 *pesos* up to that date, and that the annual charge must continue at 63,000 *pesos*.

[58] The number of savages was estimated at fourteen thousand.

[59] Coues, *Pike*, II, 783.

[60] Pike found one of Nolan's men (Solomon Colly) imprisoned at Santa Fé and another (David Ferro) at Chihuahua, and he vainly interceded with Salcedo on their behalf.

[61] Coues, *Pike*, II, 785.

[62] Bastrop was a French émigré who had been sent to Texas by the Spanish government on a secret mission. He had been recompensed by a land grant of thirty square miles between the Mississippi and Red rivers.

[63] The term was applied to all baptized Indians dependent on the missions.

[64] Costanzó, *Historical Journal, Out West*, 14 : 488.

[65] Costanzó, the scientist of the party, carried Venega's *Noticias de las Californias* and a manual of navigation by the experienced pilot, Cabrera Bueno.

[66] Crespi, *Journal*.

[67] Costanzó, *Journal, Out West*, 15 : 39.

[68] Costanzó, *Journal, Out West*, 15 : 45.

[69] The revenue from the salt works at San Blas was devoted to this purpose.

[70] Palou, *Noticias*, IV, 103.

[71] Bancroft assumes that Anza entered the San Gabriel Valley by San Gorgonio Pass, following the present route of the Southern Pacific Railway, but recent researches favor the pass west of the San Jacinto Mountains. The trail was rough and steep, but there was abundant water. —Z. S. Eldridge, in *Journal of American History*, 1908.

[72] In 1774, roused by the rumor that they were all to be forcibly baptized, the Indians had attacked the mission buildings and murdered Father Jaime and some of the garrison. All the force Alta California could muster was required to suppress the revolt.

[73] Anza, *Journal*.

[74] *Reglamento de Neve*, Section V, in Rockwell's *Spanish and Mexican Law*, I, 445. Cf. *Recopilacion de Leyes*, Lib. IV, Tit. V, Ley VI. Philip II.

[75] The *vara* (33⅓ inches) was the universal unit of survey.

[76] "The new colonists shall enjoy, for the purpose of maintaining their cattle, the common privilege of the water and the pasturage, firewood and timber, of the common forest and pasture lands [*ejidos*], to be designated according to law to each new *pueblo* . . . and it not being pos-

sible that each one can dedicate himself to the taking care of the small stock consigned to them — as by so doing they would be unable to attend to agriculture and the public works — for the present, the small cattle, and the sheep and goats of the community, must feed together, and the shepherd must be paid by such community." — Rockwell, *Spanish and Mexican Law*, I, 448.

[77] "No colonist is to possess more than fifty head of the same kind of cattle, so that the utility produced by cattle be distributed amongst the whole of them, and that the true riches of the pueblo be not monopolized by a few inhabitants."

[78] The schedule of prices fixed by Governor Fages (1782–1791) was as just as de Neve could have desired; viz. horses, $9 each; mule, $14–20; ox or cow, $5; heifer or steer, $4; sheep, $1–2; an *arroba* (25 lb.) of wool, $2; ox-hide, 37½¢; *fanega* of wheat, $2; *fanega* of peas, $3. — Hittell, *History of California*, I, 534.

[79] The teachers at San Francisco and Monterey rendered voluntary service.

[80] Hogs and goats did not flourish under the new conditions.

[81] Costanzó, *Informe*, 1794.

[82] Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II, 501.

[83] Bacon, *Essay on Plantation*, 1625.

[84] Garcés left a full account of his journey up the Colorado, and it has been carefully edited by Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*. Escallante's briefer journal has never found a publisher.

[85] In 1785 the French government ordained an exploration of the northwest coast of America with a view to "opening a communication with some part of Hudson's Bay" and ascertaining whether France might profitably establish a trading post to the north of the Spanish dominions. Comte de la Perouse reconnoitered the coast from the Fairweather Mountains to Monterey, where he spent sixteen days. The expedition was wrecked off the New Hebrides on the homeward voyage, and all hands perished. Perouse's journals, which were forwarded to Paris from Petropaulovski, are all that remain to us of his gallant adventure.

[86] De la Perouse, *Voyage autour du Monde*, II, 288–289.

[87] Between the years 1769 and 1797, 21,853 Indians had been baptized, and of these 10,437 had died at the missions.

[88] In 1806 the herds of the San Francisco neighborhood had become so numerous that the governor ordered 20,000 killed, lest the pastures should be exhausted.

[89] Von Langsdorff was the journalist of the expedition of de Resanoff, who visited the Pacific coast (1803–1806) in the interest of the Russian-American Fur Company.

[90] Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery*, I, 283.

[91] Humboldt, *New Spain*, II, 239.

[92] Sola (1818) reckoned the Spanish population of Upper California at three thousand. In 1841 (according to de Mofras), there were four thousand four hundred and fifty Indians and seven thousand whites.

[93] Vancouver, II, 27.

[94] Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels*, II, 187.

[95] Von Langsdorff, II, 207.

[96] The fortress built by Borica on the bluff selected by Anza.

[97] All ports of California were thrown open to Mexican vessels in 1822, and customs duties imposed averaging 25 per cent. The four presidial ports were "open" to foreign vessels in 1829, and this favor was sometimes extended to San Pedro. Later Monterey and San Diego were the only open ports, and the duties were raised to 42.5 per cent.

[98] Tallow was in requisition for lighting the mines of Peru.

[99] The tariff of prices fixed by the governor: Hides, $1 each; wheat, $3 per *fanega;* tallow, $2 per *arroba;* soap, $16 per *cental;* pickled beef, $4 per *cental.*

[100] Drogher was the West India term applied to these slow and clumsy coasting vessels.

[101] Beechey, II, *Voyage to the Pacific*, 60.

[102] Beechey, II, 68.

[103] Beechey, II, 68.

[104] Beechey, II, 69.

[105] Beechey, II, 66–67.

[106] The Pious Fund was estimated at this time to amount to $500,000 with an annual revenue of $50,000. It was finally confiscated by Santa Anna in 1842, when the value was estimated at $2,000,000.

[107] Echeandia is known in the annals of the Franciscans as the "scourge of the missions." He proposed a plan of secularization which was adopted by the Territorial Deputation (1830), but never carried into execution. The several missions were to be converted into *pueblos* and the land distributed to the neophytes (one *solar* and one *suerte* to each), and they were to be supplied, acording to the *reglamento*, with live stock and tools. The *padres* might remain as curates, but it was hoped they would go to the Tulares to found new missions among the *gentiles*. The church and its furnishings and the residence of the missionary were reserved, but all other buildings were to be devoted to the uses of the *pueblos* for schools, hospitals, and so forth. Mills, orchards, vineyards, and gardens were to be administered by the *ayuntamientos* (councils) for the public benefit. Echeandia was superseded, before this scheme was put into operation, by Victoria, a reactionary goyernor; but secularization was soon given the sanction of the Mexican government.

[108] Quoted by Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico.*

[109] Hittell, II, 205–207.

[110] 1841 was a year of drought.

[111] Simpson, *Journey round the World*, I, 294–295.

[112] According to William C. Jones, the disposition of the remnant of the mission property was as follows: —

San Diego, sold to Santiago Arguello, June 18, 1846.

San Luis Rey, sold to Antonio Cot and Andres Pico, May 13, 1846.

San Juan Capristrano, sold to John Foster and James McKinley, December, 1845.

San Gabriel, sold to Julian Workman and Hugo Reid, June, 1846.

San Fernando, rented to Andres Pico for nine years, but sold to Juan Celis, 1846.

San Buenaventura, sold to Josef Armaz.

Santa Barbara, rented to Nicholas Den for nine years.

Santa Inez, rented to Joaquin Carrelo.

La Purissima, sold to John Temple, December, 1846.

San Luis Obispo, made over to *pueblo*.

San Miguel, sold to Captain Cooke, an Englishman, for $300. (According to Jules Remy.)

San Antonio and Santa Cruz, vacant.

Soledad, sold to Sobranes, January, 1846.

Carmel, San Juan Bautista, and Dolores made over to *pueblos*.

Santa Clara, San José, and San Francisco Solano; missions in charge of priest, but property made over to the Valléjos.

[113] See Richman, *California under Spain and New Mexico*, for a full account of the ultimate destination of the mission property.

[114] *Alfileria*, a species of herb robert brought to California in the fleece of sheep imported from Spain. It still grows luxuriantly on mountain slopes and is popularly known as "filaree."

[115] De Mofras found a Frenchman, M. Barie, working a placer there. He was taking out one ounce of pure gold per day.

[116] In 1841 these items amounted to $265,000 out of a total of $280,000 (de Mofras), although the export of hides had dwindled to 30,000 per year.

[117] The contrivance is described by Wilkes and is still used in Lower California.

Part II

Chapter I

[1] The *bidarka* was a canoe constructed of whale bones and covered with walrus skin. Only a man-hole was left for the bodies of the two hunters, and they were tied in with oilskins so that the boat would not leak if capsized.

[2] Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels*, II, 228–229.

[3] De Resanoff projected an agricultural colony on the Columbia River, but his ship was driven off the entrance by adverse winds. His untimely death prevented the execution of this and other purposes he had in hand.

[4] Von Langsdorff, II, 180.

[5] Greenhow, 432–433.

[6] The charts and log-books of Bodega Quadra proved of great use to Captain James Cook and also to Von Humboldt.

[7] Cook also hoped to reach the eighty-ninth degree north latitude and so to win the prize offered for the identification of the North Pole!

[8] "We can now with safety assert that no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts." (Lyman, *Oregon*, I, 271.)

[9] The *Columbia*, the *Washington*, the *Hancock*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Hope* from Boston: the *Eleanora*, the *Fair American*, the *Margaret* from New York.

[10] The publication of Cook's own *Journal* was delayed until 1784.

[11] This little schooner of thirty tons was the first ship built on the west coast.

[12] "They discovered a harbor in latitude 46° 53′ and longitude 122° 51′. This is Gray's Harbor. Here they were attacked by the natives, and the savages had a considerable slaughter among them. They next entered the Columbia River, and went up it about thirty miles and doubted not that it was navigable upwards of a hundred. Besides sea-otter skins, they purchased a great number of land furs of very considerable value." — Haswell, *Logbook*, printed as appendix to Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*.

[13] Vancouver, I, 210.

[14] Vancouver, I, 215.

[15] Vancouver, I, 420.

[16] Vancouver, II, 66.

[17] Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt.

Chapter II

[1] Carver, *Travels*, 102.

[2] "The cheapness and ease with which any quantity of it may be procured, will make up for the length of way that is necessary to transport it before it reaches the sea-coast, and enable the proprietors to send it to foreign markets on as good terms as it can be exported from other countries." — Carver, *Travels*, 139–140.

[3] Carver, *Travels*, 76.

[4] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 193.

[5] Quoted by Laut, *Vikings of the Pacific*, 359.

[6] Mackay's map of the Missouri was evidently familiar to Lewis and Clark, and his instructions to John Evans for the tour of exploration bear a marked similarity both in spirit and in detail to the instructions Jefferson sent to Meriwether Lewis. Cf. Teggart, Notes Supplementary to any Edition of Lewis and Clark.

[7] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 208.

[8] In a letter to Lewis (from Louisville, July 24, 1803) Clark writes: "Several young men (gentlemen's sons) have applyed to accompany us. As they are not accustomed to labour and as that is a verry essential part of the services required of the party, I am cautious in giving them any encouragement." — Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 263.

[9] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 210.

[10] The ménu was thus set forth by Captain's orders: "The day after to-morrow lyed corn and grece will be issued to the party, the next day Poark and flour, and the day following indian meal and poark; and in conformity to that rotiene, provisions will continue to be issued to the party untill further orders. . . . No poark is to be issued when we have fresh meat on hand." — Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 33.

[11] Sergeant C. Floyd died of a sudden chill contracted after unusually violent exercise (August 16, 1804).

[12] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 145.

[13] Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 307–308.

[14] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 240.

[15] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 330.

[16] Harmon, of the North West Company, records the arrival at the Mandan villages of Lewis and Clark and the reception of their letter of October 31. Also that M. Chaboillez writes him that "they behave honorably toward his people, who are there to trade with the natives."

[17] Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 336.

[18] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 248. (This post was projected at Turtle Mt. on the forty-ninth parallel, and hence on the boundary line.)

[19] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 320.

[20] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, VII, 320, 321.

[21] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 322.

[22] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 14.

[23] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 14.

[24] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 17.

[25] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 100.

[26] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark* , II, 113.

[27] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 147.

[28] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 149–150.

[29] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 209.

[30] There were no wild horses in this region. The few which seemed masterless bore marks of having been trained to the saddle, some of them showing the brand of the Spanish ranchman from whom they were bought or stolen. Spanish bits, bridles, and saddles were not uncommon among the Shoshones, though saddles and stirrups were reserved for the use of women and old men. A halter of twisted hair and a small leather pad secured by a leather girth were sufficient equipment for a warrior.

[31] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, II, 380.

[32] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, III, 73, 74.

[33] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, III, 78.

[34] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, IV, 192–193. An Indian, Hunter John, who remembered seeing the Lewis and Clark party, lived near Port Angeles until 1912.

[35] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, IV, 176–177.

[36] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, IV, 238.

[37] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, V, 390.

[38] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, V, 394.

[39] Clark's description of a Schenectady boat, *i.e.* bateau: Length, thirty feet, width eight feet, pointed bow and stern, flat bottom, rowed by six oars only. "Being wide and flat they are not Subject to the dangers of roleing Sands." — Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, V, 390.

[40] Coues, *Pike*, I, 202.

[41] Coues, *Pike*, I, 133.

[42] Coues, *Pike*, I, 156.

[43] Coues, *Pike*, I, 156.

[44] Coues, *Pike*, I, 247–254.

Chapter III

[1] *E.g.* Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis was granted exclusive right to trade with the Osages, and built a post on the Missouri in 1796 which he called Carondelet.

[2] Biddle, *Lewis and Clark*, III, 290.

[3] Chittenden, III, Appendix B, 902.

[4] He argued that this flourishing commerce should not be "left to the adventurers of the United States, acting without regularity or capital or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment." See also Archibald Campbell, "A Voyage round the World" (1806–1812), *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1816.

[5] Masson, I, 331.

[6] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 264. Cf. Burton's *City of the Saints*, 52.

[7] Washington Irving (*Captain Bonneville* I, 31) estimated that three-fifths of the men pursuing this dangerous trade met with unnatural death.

[8] Irving's phrase.

[9] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 31–32.

[10] Brackenridge, 66.

[11] Chittenden, III, Appendix B, 901.

[12] The Scotch partners were McKay, Mackenzie, McDougal, David and Robert Stuart, and Ramsay Crooks. The Americans were Hunt, Miller, McLellan, and Clark.

[13] Franchère, Narrative, 230.

[14] Ross, *First Settlers in Oregon*, 89.

[15] Franchère, *Narrative*, 259.

[16] Ross, *First Settlers in Oregon*, 161.

[17] Ross, 101. Cf. Franchère, 253.

[18] In 1807, Thompson crossed the mountains by Saskatchewan Pass and ascended the Columbia River to its source. In 1810, he attempted to descend this river to the sea, but the project, which if successful might have given Great Britain title to the whole course of the River of the West, was delayed till the following year when the Astorians had gained possession. The two or three years subsequent Thompson devoted to the production of that *Map of the North West Territory of the Province of Canada* which has furnished the basis of all later cartography in this region. In 1813, David Thompson was the official surveyor of the British government for the determination of the boundary line between the United States and Canada. J. J. Bigsby of the International Boundary Commission wrote of Thompson, "No living person possesses a tithe of his information respecting the Hudson's bay countries, which from 1793 to 1820 he was constantly traversing." Lieutenant Pike refers to the exploration of the source of the Mississippi, undertaken by the North West Company, "They have had a gentleman by the name of Thompson making a geographical survey of the northwest part of the continent; who for three years with an astonishing spirit of enterprise and perseverance, passed over all that extensive and unknown country." Coues, *Pike*, I, 279.

[19] "Mr. Thompson kept a regular journal, and travelled, I thought, more like a geographer than a fur-trader. He was provided with a sextant, chronometer, and barometer, and during a week's sojourn which he made at our place, had an opportunity to make several astronomical observations." — Franchère, 254.

[20] That these assurances were not to be relied upon is clear from the fact later discovered, that on his return journey, Thompson placed a British flag at the junction of Lewis' or Snake River with the Columbia, together with a legend forbidding the subjects of other powers to trade north of that point. The legend read: "Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its Territories, & that the N. W. Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the Factory for this People inconvenient for them, do intend to erect a Factory in this Place for the Commerce of the Country around. — D. Thompson."— Ross, 138.

[21] The Spokanes traded the goods purchased from the traders for horses from the Nez Perces.

[22] Ross, 174.

[23] Ross, 181.

[24] Ross, 178.

[25] Ross, 179.

[26] Brackenridge, 72.

[27] At Henry's Fort and lower down the river two parties of trappers were left: one under A. Carson, the other under J. Miller. The latter had announced his intention of abandoning the expedition.

[28] Caldron Linn has been identified with the rapids at Milburn, Idaho.

[29] Franchère, 269–270.

[30] Ross, 188, 189.

[31] Ross, 187.

[32] Ross, 227.

[33] Ross, 228.

[34] Franchère, 280–281.

[35] Cf. Astor's letter to J. Q. Adams, quoted by Lyman, *History of Oregon*, II, 298.

[36] Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia*, I, 276.

[37] Astor's enterprise seemed pursued by misfortune. The *Pedler* was wrecked off the coast of California, and the men made their way with great difficulty through Mexico to the United States. Hunt recovered his fortunes and became a prosperous merchant at St. Louis. Russell Farnham and Alfred Seton attained distinction, the one as traveller and writer, the other as a New York financier.

[38] Franchère, 303.

[39] Ross, 279, states the loss of life as follows: On the bar of the Columbia, eight; on the overland expedition, five; on the *Tonquin*, twenty-seven; on the *Lark*, eight; in the Snake country, nine; at Astoria, three; at the final departure, one.

[40] Coues, *Greater Northwest*, II, 889.

[41] Dunn, *Oregon*, 108–109.

[42] Citation by A. C. Laut from the Ms. journals of Alexander Ross.

[43] Manuel Lisa died in 1820, and no successor was found to equal him in daring or resource. The affairs of the Missouri Fur Company were not wound up until 1830.

[44] Fremont, *First Expedition*, 39–40.

[45] Chittenden, I, 341, quoted from the *Missouri Republican*.

[46] Wyeth learned of Mackenzie's distillery when he visited Fort Union (1833). He reported to General Clark at St. Louis, who promptly reported to Washington. It was proposed to withdraw the license of the offending company, and but for Benton's good offices the operations of the American Fur Company might have been brought to a halt. As it was, Mackenzie, the offending agent, was obliged to withdraw from its service.

[47] Buffalo hides, scraped and softened and ready for use, were sold on the Plains at from $1 to $1.50 each; at from $5 to $10 in the States. When elaborately decorated with paint and porcupine quills, a robe brought $35.

[48] Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, Vol. III, 944.

[49] Some accounts indicate that Ashley found his British competitor out of supplies and was therefore able to purchase his furs for a song; others, that he enticed his men away by the lure of whiskey and then made advantageous terms with the helpless leader. In either case Ogden could not complain, for his own stern maxim was "Necessity knows no law." Ogden was trapped a second time at this same spot by Fitzpatrick five years later and relieved of all his furs. — Ross Cox, II, 243; Elliott, *Peter Skeene Ogden*, 20. Cf. Chittenden, I, 277, 293. Wyeth; *History of Oregon*, I, 74.

[50] *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Ch. V. Cf. Appendix D, Chittenden.

[51] So Bancroft, but the effort to find it made by the Academy of Pacific Coast History was fruitless. Portions of the later journals are in the possession of Smith's descendants and may soon be published.

[52] Captain Bonneville was an officer in the United States army who secured permission from the War Department to explore the Far West and report on the Indian tribes, economic resources, etc. The expedition was financed by Alfred Seton of the Astorian party and other New York merchants who hoped for a rich return in furs. During his three years in the west (1832-1835) Bonneville explored Salt Lake and the Wind River Mountains more thoroughly than had yet been undertaken. He followed the Snake and Salmon Rivers to the Columbia and made two bootless attempts to establish a trading station in Hudson's Bay Company territory. Joseph Walker, who was sent on a trapping expedition to California (1833), crossed the desert to Humboldt Sink and thence by

Sonora Pass and the Merced River made his way to the Pacific. The furs taken in Bonneville's various expeditions were not sufficient to pay the wages of his men and he presented no report to the War Department. He made no discoveries, since the country he traversed was well known to the fur traders; but his map of the Rocky Mountains, while not so accurate as that already published by Gallatin, is of great interest and far better known. Bonneville's chief claim to fame is the delightful and sympathetic account of his wanderings transcribed for the press by Washington Irving.

[53] A pack was made up of sixty pelts and weighed approximately one hundred pounds. The fur sold for $5 a pound in St. Louis and $7 to $8 in New York.

[54] Fremont, *Second Expedition*, 144–145.

[55] Stansbury, *Expedition to Great Salt Lake*, 35.

[56] N. J. Wyeth, *Report on the Fur Trade*, 1839.

[57] *American Historical Review*, 14 : 73.

[58] Ross, *First Settlers in Oregon*, 177–178.

[59] Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*, 69.

[60] Larpenteur, *Journal*, II, 289.

[61] Forsythe, *Letter to Lewis Cass*, Chittenden; III, 933–934.

[62] Fremont, *Second Expedition*, 111.

[63] Gunnison, *Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, 151.

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Emigrant wagons being carried across the Missouri from Kanesville to winter quarters. The women are unpacking their chests and deciding which of their possessions to leave behind. Goods for the journey across the Plains were packed in bags.

AMERICAN SETTLERS

VOLUME II

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PART III

THE ADVANCE OF THE SETTLERS

A Miner's Rocker in 1848

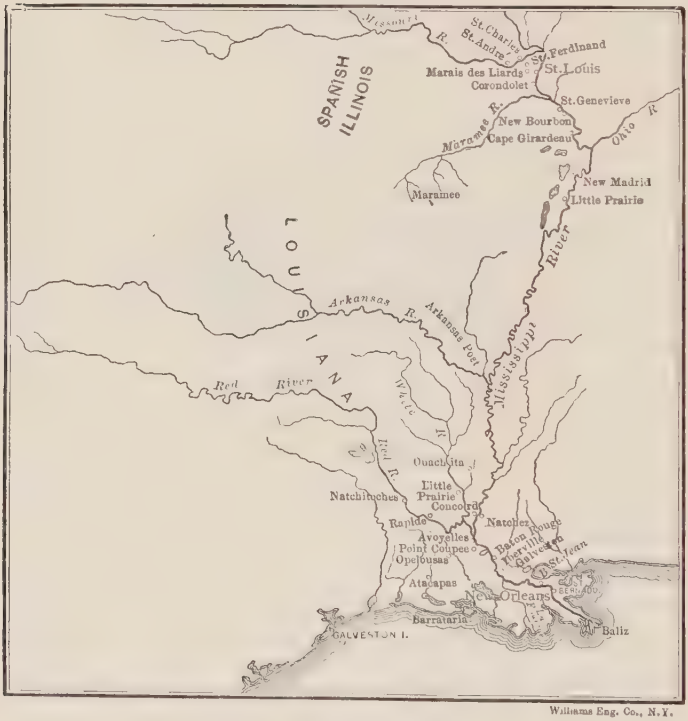
ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST

CHAPTER I

LOUISIANA

The acquisition of Louisiana Territory got rid of some long-standing difficulties and opened to American enterprise vast possibilities of extension. Both banks of the Mississippi were now controlled by the United States, and the free navigation of that great waterway was assured for all time. Not only the Father of Waters, but his western tributaries, the Missouri, the Platte, the Arkansas and Red rivers, were brought within reach of our restless frontiersmen, and they made haste to avail themselves of this outlet for their energy. In the *Account of Louisiana*, compiled at the suggestion of President Jefferson in 1803 and widely distributed throughout the country, there was gathered for the information of the curious all that was then known of the population and resources of the new acquisition. According to the Spanish census of 1799, there were in the settlements along the Mississippi and Red rivers forty-two thousand three hundred and seventy-five souls, of whom two-thirds were whites and one-third slaves or freedmen. New Orleans was a town of ten thousand inhabitants, where four-fifths of the whites were French creoles and the remainder English and Americans. The people of Baton Rouge, Iberville,

and Point Coupée were the Acadians banished from Nova Scotia by the British government. The villages on Red River - Avoyelles, Rapide, Natchitoches — were settled by descendants of the original French. So, too, was the Post aux Arkansas and Ouichita on



French Louisiana in 1804.

Black River. In Spanish Illinois or Upper Louisiana, along the great river that furnished the only practicable highway, were a dozen flourishing settlements — Petite Prairie, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Carondelet, St. Louis, St. Charles, St. André — where were gathered a total

of six thousand people, of whom not more than one-sixth were blacks. St. Louis was still a mere trading post with nine hundred and twenty-five inhabitants, of whom one-third were slaves. St. Charles and Ste. Genevieve, being farming communities, had a larger proportion of whites. Here the *habitants* driven from Illinois by the American occupation were maintaining existence by means of an indolent agriculture varied by hunting and fishing. At St. André, McKay's bailiwick, some thirty families from Kentucky were cultivating the soil in a fashion that put their French neighbors to shame. Years before the annexation, pioneers from Kentucky and Tennessee had begun moving across the river, until, in 1803, "at least two-fifths if not a greater proportion of all settlers on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, in the Illinois country, are . . . supposed to be Americans." [1]

The products of the rich lands along the lower Mississippi were sugar,[2] molasses, cotton, and indigo; those of Upper Louisiana, peltry, lumber, lead, horses, and cattle. The annual value of the cotton exported was estimated at $1,344,000, that of sugar at $302,400, molasses at $32,000, peltry at $200,000, lumber at $80,000. "The peltry procured in the Illinois is the best sent to the Atlantic market; and the quantity is very considerable. Lead is to be had with ease, and in such quantities as to supply all Europe, if the population were sufficient to work the numerous mines to be found within two or three feet from the surface in various parts of the country." [3] For a considerable distance back from the river, the land

was extraordinarily productive and was covered with valuable timber. "It may be said with truth that, for fertility of soil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Mississippi; the land yields an abundance of all the necessaries of life, and almost spontaneously; very little labor being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of Upper Louisiana, which borders on North Mexico, is one immense prairie; it produces nothing but grass; it is filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game; the land is represented as too rich for the growth of forest trees." [4]

Jefferson's *Account* was corroborated by a letter written under date of August 15, 1803, by Dr. John Sibley and printed at Raleigh, North Carolina, soon after. Dr. Sibley was a Carolinian who had settled at Natchez in 1802 and obtained permission of the Spanish authorities to travel in Louisiana. "Travelling up the Mississippi some months ago, I took pains to ascertain the number of sugar plantations, and the average quantity of sugar made annually in each. I found 14 below New Orleans, and 64 above, in all 78; and they average annually about 75,000 pounds' weight of sugar, besides a proportionable quantity of rum and molasses." The alluvial lands for sixty miles above New Orleans and for sixty miles below that town, together with Terre Bœuf, the bayou St. John, the bayou La Faussee, and Tuckepa, were equally well adapted to the growing of cane, and might, he estimated, afford place for one thousand plantations. "The lands from the edge of the river back, gradually fall till they become too low

to cultivate; it never can admit of but one row of settlements. These plantations are interchangeably planted in sugar cane, rice, corn and cotton. Nothing can exceed the luxuriancy of their crops." The coast lands were equally fertile. "The population of this district is 965 families; they have large stocks of very large-sized cattle, make considerable sugar and cotton for exportation." To the north between the coast and the Red River lay Appalusa, "a high, rich and beautiful country, skirted with clumps of flourishing trees, and interspersed with fine rich prairies,[5] which produce corn and cotton in great perfection. But the immense flocks of cattle[6] with which they are covered, are almost incredible; ten thousand head may be seen in one view." The upper country was no less promising. "The lands of Red River alone are capable of producing more tobacco than is now made in all the United States, and at less than one fourth part of the labour; and in all Louisiana, I think more than ten times as much cotton might be made as in the United States. The extreme fertility of this country, the vast quantities of flour, beef, pork, tobacco, sugar, etc., which it would yield, with the productions of its mines, independent of the disposal of vast quantities of vacant lands under no claims, render the acquisition of it to the United States of importance almost exceeding calculation." [7]

Hardly had the *Account of Louisiana* left the press when a survey of the less known portions of the new territory was inaugurated by a congressional appropriation for the exploration of the Red and Arkansas rivers. The definition of the boundary

between Louisiana and the Spanish dominions and the investigation of the resources of the arid plains that lay beyond the settlements, where were said to be herds of cattle and horses, salines without number and mines of silver and gold, seemed to warrant such an enterprise. In the same message in which he announced Lewis and Clark's achievements to Congress (February 19, 1806), Jefferson communicated the results of this less brilliant but no less significant exploration. Dr. John Sibley had been commissioned to ascend the Red River, while William Dunbar and George Hunter were sent up its principal tributary, the Washita.[8]

In an open boat, accompanied by a French half-breed, Francis Grappe, Dr. Sibley pushed up the Red River to Natchitoches, the old French settlement, and seventy miles beyond to near the present site of Shreveport. All along the right or north bank he found American settlers, developing cotton farms. There were two French towns on the south bank of the river, Izavial, with two hundred and ninety-six families, and Rapide, with one hundred. The land was very rich and bore heavy crops of corn and cotton. "It is perfectly level, resembling a river bed, the soil twenty feet deep, and like a bed of manure." "It is impossible to conceive of more beautiful fields and plantations, or more luxuriant crops of corn, cotton and tobacco." Sibley described the country below Natchitoches as the richest he had ever seen. "The low grounds of Red River are generally five or six miles wide, and no soil can be richer, and nearly all alike; considerable part of which is overflowed

annually in the month of April; but it continues up but a short time, and always falls in time to plant corn and tobacco, and rises no more till the same time the next year. There are fields that from the best account I can obtain, have been planted successively for near one hundred years in corn or tobacco, and never known to fail in producing plentiful crops, nor is the soil apparently in the least exhausted. It is particularly favorable for tobacco, which grows remarkably luxuriant, and has a very fine flavor. The soil has a saline impregnation, which imparts something of it to the tobacco. The well and river water is somewhat brackish. I am convinced that one hand here can make as much tobacco in a season as four or five on the best lands in Virginia or North Carolina. It is made without any hills being raised, and grows so thick (from the strength and warmth of the soil) that they usually cut it three times. When prepared for market, it is stemmed and made into twists of five pounds each. From eighty to one hundred bushels of corn can be made to the acre. Cotton produces equally well. The gardens on the natural soil (for they cannot be made richer with manure) are not less astonishing or extraordinary. I have particularly observed the very great height to which the artichoke grows; they are usually ten feet and very frequently twelve and fifteen feet high." [9]

At Baker's Landing, a mingled population of French, Irish, and Americans were cultivating the prairie to corn and cotton, while their hogs and cattle found abundant food in the oak forest.

Wheat would thrive in the fertile soil, but it was not grown because there were no mills for grinding flour. Large plantations were also in evidence where corn, cotton, and tobacco were raised for sale, and at Lac Moir were salt-works where two crippled old men with a dozen pots and kettles made six bushels of salt per day, enough to supply the whole region. Saline springs were abundant, and a Captain Burnett had brought negro slaves up the river, meaning to exploit this industry.

Dr. Sibley turned back far short of the source of Red River, but from a Frenchman, Brevel, who had been bred among the Pamis, he learned that the upper river was not navigable. The Indians themselves had no boats, partly because there was no timber available and partly because the treacherous current, fairly disappearing in the dry season and rising to a torrent with the spring and autumn floods, made even canoes an uncertain means of transportation. They relied rather on horses, with which they were well furnished, and on which they hunted the wild bison of the plains. Brevel had accompanied his Indian friends as far west as the Spanish settlements in the Rio Grande Valley. He estimated the distance from the Pima villages to be some three hundred miles. Sibley thought that the most valuable land on Red River began about sixty miles above the upper settlements (seventy miles above Rapide) and extended four hundred miles beyond. "About eighty or ninety years ago, a number of Frenchmen settled on this part of Red River; they built a merchant mill, with burr stones (which they brought

from France) and cultivated wheat in the prairies with much success, and made excellent flour for several years, till, by the repeated incursions of the Oza, they were compelled to abandon their settlements." The Spaniards, too, had attempted to develop this region, sending some priests and soldiers with several families, but the post was destroyed by these same Indians. Natchitoches, according to Sibley, was a "small, irregular, and meanly built village" with not more than half a dozen good houses. It had been a considerable settlement, but the better people had moved to farms, leaving some forty families, mostly French, in possession of the decaying public buildings. "From this place the great western road takes off toward Mexico, and it will ever be an important place, being the key to an immense rich country."

Dunbar reported that the French settlements along the Washita had well-nigh disappeared, the people having fled after the Natchez massacre. At the mouth of Black River he found an old Frenchman in charge of a ferry for the transportation of the occasional travellers who followed the trail between Natchez and Natchitoches. At the army post farther up the river was a small settlement — some five hundred souls — eking out a miserable subsistence by hunting deer and bear for peltry. There was a rich alluvial soil, but they raised only a little corn and were content to buy everything else of the traders who, taking advantage of their ignorance, charged them high prices for imported goods while giving them little for the hides and bear's grease

they offered in exchange. Considerable estates had been granted by the Spanish government to certain French refugees — royalists —, but the validity of these titles was questioned. Dunbar and Hunter followed the windings of the Washita to the Hot Springs. The healing qualities of these waters were already known, and the place was a resort for health-seekers. From this their farthest point, they saw the mountains that divide the Washita from the streams that flow into the Arkansas. At the head waters of the Arkansas, so the hunters told them, silver ore was to be found, and the river was navigable almost to its source. An old Dutchman showed them a pin that had been wrought from silver found by a trapper in the mountains that divide the eastward-flowing rivers from the Rio Grande del Norte of the Spaniards. French fur traders told Dunbar that the Platte or Shallow River took its rise in these same mountains near the source of the Arkansas and Red rivers. They described with enthusiasm the beauty of the country that lay to the west of the Mississippi — gentle rolling prairie, timberless except for the trees that grew along the river bottoms, but clothed with verdure, buffalo grass, and myriad flowers. The climate was dry and wholesome, the rains temperate, — never so violent as to destroy crops, — and the arid regions near the mountains were refreshed with nightly dews. Numberless herds of bison ranged these prairies, moving hither and thither in search of water and pasture. No good hunter need go long without food.

Dr. Sibley gives a careful account of the Indian tribes in the Red River region; peoples most of whom have long since disappeared. Intertribal war, conflicts with the French, and the small-pox might account, in his opinion, for the rapid extinction of the natives. The Comanches were then, as for long after, the scourge of the plains. Sibley thought them inclined to be friendly to the French and Americans, but gives abundant evidence of their hostility to the Spaniards. They made a pastime of stealing not only horses, but children. There were many white slaves in the lodges of the Comanches, some of whom were captured so young that they knew nothing of their origin.

A supplementary expedition of more formidable proportions was despatched up Red River in the year 1806. Two army officers, Captains Sparks and Humphreys, seventeen privates, and a black servant, together with Thomas Freeman, a surveyor, and Dr. Peter Custis, a naturalist, made up the party. They embarked on May 3, in two flat-bottomed barges and a pirogue, and reached the westernmost white settlement, forty-five miles above Natchitoches, without incident. Here they were overtaken by an Indian runner sent by Dr. Sibley, now Indian agent at Natchitoches, with the news that Spanish dragoons were marching from Nacogdoches to intercept the Americans. The Caddoes, near whose village the Spanish force was encamped, also gave warning; but Sparks' instructions had been to explore the river to its source unless stopped by a force superior to his own, and he pushed on. A few

days brought him face to face with a body of three hundred mounted troopers. Freeman's attempt to explain that their object in ascending the river was purely scientific proved vain, and it became clear that they could not proceed without a battle. Deeming discretion the better part of valor, the party retreated down the river, after having attained a point about six hundred and thirty-five miles above its mouth. Freeman thought the country along the upper river "would become as desirable as any portion of the earth," if the stream were cleared of driftwood and the swamps and bayous drained. The Caddo Indians were raising corn, — fifty and sixty bushels to the acre, — and they said that farther west lay "level, rich and almost continued prairies, where range immense herds of buffalo, upon which the Indians almost entirely subsist, moving their camps as these animals migrate with the season from north to south and back again." [10]

The United States government had every reason to congratulate itself and the country on the addition of Louisiana Territory to the national domain. The customs revenue at the port of New Orleans, for example, amounted to $1,000,000 a year — seven per cent interest on the purchase price — while the potential wealth represented in the new industrial resources was beyond computation. Citizens of the Western states, who were beginning to feel the need of elbow room, hurried to Louisiana to take advantage of the promising openings, commercial and agricultural. The Americans found New Orleans a delightfully picturesque town, and quite unlike any-

thing in the United States. The roomy one-story houses, finished in stucco — white, yellow, and pink — surrounded by fig and orange orchards, seemed most attractive. The earth was wholly alluvial without grit or stones, the streets were none of them paved, and after a hard rain they became sloughs of black, loamy, greasy mud and quite impassable. A single line of logs served, at one and the same time, as sewer and footway. The levee, which furnished the only handsome street, was shaded with willow and orange trees and furnished a public promenade. The usual vehicles were the high wooden-wheeled carts in which the peasants brought their vegetables to market, and these squeaked through the streets with an intolerable racket; but this had been encouraged by the Spanish intendant because it served to warn the customs collector of the advent of dutiable goods.

With quite different emotions was the cession regarded by the creole population of Louisiana. Notably at New Orleans, where the officers and civil officials of the Spanish régime were gathered, there was a strong anti-American feeling, and the belief was general that the province would shortly be retroceded to Spain. The task imposed on Governor Claiborne was indeed a difficult one. He had to deal with a people of whom not a tithe were American in origin or in sentiment. The great proportion were irreconcilably foreign in blood, language, religion, and customs.[11] The common law and trial by jury were suspicious innovations; the few American officials, always overbearing and often

incompetent, were highly unpopular; the restrictions on the importation of slaves, promulgated with the territorial organization, were regarded as disastrous by the planters; while the proud and ambitious creoles of New Orleans resented the territorial status and demanded that they be admitted to the "enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States" . . . "as soon as possible," in accordance with the terms of the cession. The founding of a bank of Louisiana, authorized to issue paper money in lieu of the silver hitherto imported from Vera Cruz, roused the distrust of the merchants, while the appointment of a register of lands with a view to testing the validity of grants made by the Spanish intendants subsequent to the treaty, spread alarm through the rural communities. The investigation of titles was a godsend to the lawyers, who flocked into the territory from all quarters, but to the litigation-hating Louisianians it promised endless disturbance. The supplanted Spanish officials were loath to leave the province, and did not hesitate to use their influence against the new order, while certain Americans long resident in New Orleans were distinctly pro-Spanish in sympathy. The Territory of Orleans was but a narrow strip of American domain driven like a wedge into the Spanish dominions, dividing the Floridas from Texas. New Orleans lay open to attack from the Gulf, while the bays and islands along the coast offered convenient shelter to an enemy. The governors of the adjacent Spanish territories were openly hostile,

The Teche.

A Creole Cottage.
Acadia.

troops were gathering at Nacogdoches and supplies were being landed at Mobile, while there was reason to believe that the Indians between the Arkansas and Red rivers were being corrupted by the agents of the viceroy himself.

Under these conditions, it is no marvel that Governor Claiborne, harassed on every side, lent a credulous ear to General Wilkinson's assertion that Aaron Burr was proposing to take advantage of the general disaffection, make a descent on New Orleans and, on the basis of that conquest, build up an empire of the south to which the restless communities between the Mississippi and the Ohio would eventually be annexed. It is now clear that Burr's nebulous plots were directed against New Spain and that few if any of the denizens of New Orleans were in his confidence; but the charge of treason had sufficient basis to be credited at Washington, and it served to increase the distrust of the creole population and to postpone until 1812 the creation of the state of Louisiana.

During the last ten years of the Spanish régime, traffic in slaves was permitted in Spanish bottoms, and three slave traders, all French, came into the port of New Orleans, bringing four hundred and sixty-three negroes. The coming of the Americans, with the prospect of more extensive exploitation of the agricultural possibilities of Louisiana, greatly increased the demand for slaves. Hence the new regulation imposing a fine of $300 on each slave imported and setting free the illicit chattels was vigorously protested, and Congress was induced to

modify the embargo by limiting the restriction to vessels clearing from foreign ports. Thereafter traders stopped at Charleston and then proceeded undisturbed to Mobile and New Orleans. Thirty-nine thousand Africans were so brought in between 1803 and 1808. At the same time, the numerous islands and bayous of the coast offered safe harborage for smugglers, and thousands of slaves were driven overland through Texas. The Cuban exiles (5797) who came to New Orleans in 1809, brought with them 1991 slaves, and these were admitted despite the law, on the plea that they were refugees. The gathering of hundreds of these semi-barbarians on remote plantations with only a handful of white men in control, was felt to be a menace to public safety, and the slave revolt of 1811 was so formidable as to necessitate the calling out of Federal troops. The "Police of Slaves," ordained by Carondelet, was reënacted as a black code, with intent to keep this dangerous element of the population in due subordination. Concourses of negroes were forbidden under heavy penalty, and no slave was allowed off his master's plantation without a written permit. Slaves were forbidden to ride horseback or to carry arms, and no liquor was to be sold to them. On the other hand the supply of food and clothing was fixed by law, and the degree of punishment was limited to thirty lashes in any one day.

To the people of Louisiana, the all-important factor, more influential than soil or climate or rainfall in determining their industrial fate, was the Mississippi River. The mighty stream had created

the land on which they dwelt, washing down every year from the uplands and prairies drained by its fifty-four tributaries hundreds of thousands of tons of silt which, deposited along its channel or spread out in wide alluvions by the spring floods, had formed in the course of ages the vast delta between the Ozarks and the Appalachians. From Cape Girardeau, a jutting promontory of the ancient gulf shore, the river ran through swamps and bayous of its own making, twisting and writhing from bank to bank, shifting its current with every flood and playing havoc with the puny devices of man. Navigation was rendered difficult by the transient sandbars that were carried hither and yon with the caprices of the current, and by the ever present driftwood, whether lodged against some obstacle or floating with the stream and alternately lifted and submerged in its uneasy balance, the "planters" and "sawyers" of river parlance. Whirlpools and eddies and cross currents play sport with modern steamers, guided by experienced pilots who follow charts and buoys. In frontier days, many a heavily laden flatboat or keel was wrecked against snag or shoal as it floated down stream, while the upstream voyage, laboriously performed by aid of oar and pole and *cordelle*, seemed an endless task.

To the settler on the bottom-lands, the Mississippi was no less a whimsical tyrant. For the greater part of its course below Madrid, the bed of the river was elevated many feet above the surrounding plain by the continual deposit of silt on the bottom and sides of the channel, so that it flowed through a self-made

viaduct. On either side, this was flanked by swamps and stagnant lagoons bordered by canebrakes which gave way in turn to forests of cypress trees hung with dark gray streamers of Spanish moss. No animal life throve except alligators, moccasin snakes, and the pestilential mosquito. An occasional bear came down in search of food, and Indian hunters might follow after. In May, the month of high water, the whole region was inundated and appeared a shoreless sea. As the waters ate into the causeway here and there, the barrier was undermined, the banks caved in, and hundreds and thousands of acres of the richest farm land were swept away down the river. From the time of the French settlement, the necessity of dyking the stream had been the paramount concern of every landowner. Each planter raised an embankment sufficient to guard his fields against flood and strove to make connection with the plantations above and below him. Thus these slave-built levees were gradually extended on both sides the river, forming what was called the "Coast." Here lay the sugar and cotton plantations which constituted the wealth of Louisiana; *e.g.* that of M. Poydras of Point Coupée, employing five hundred slaves and worth $2,000,000, and that of Wade Hampton, with an annual crop of five hundred hogsheads of sugar and one thousand bales of cotton and worth $150,000. The income of the ordinary planter was from $20,000 to $40,000 a year, and land sold for $75 an acre, an extraordinary price for the frontier. When Timothy Flint went down the Mississippi in 1822, the levees began at Baton Rouge, one hundred and fifty miles

above New Orleans and, from that point to sixty miles below the city, the plantations lay in a continuous stretch of cultivated land on both sides of the river. "The breadth of the cultivated lands is generally two miles; a perfectly uniform strip, conforming to the shape of the river, and everywhere bounding the deep forests of the Mississippi swamp with a regular line. In the whole distance to New Orleans, plantation touches plantation. I have seen in no part of the United States such a rich and highly cultivated tract of the same extent. It far exceeds that on the banks of the Delaware. Noble houses, massive sugar-houses, neat summer-houses, and numerous negro villages succeed each other in such a way that the whole distance has the appearance of one continued village." [12]

New Orleans, the port of this great alluvial valley, had, to Flint's mind, an unexcelled commercial opportunity, superior to that of New York. The winter population was already from forty to fifty thousand, three times that of 1803. The sole deterrent to the prosperity of New Orleans was its unwholesome climate. The hot and pestilential summers drove out of the city all who had the means to get away. Six thousand persons were carried off by the yellow fever epidemic of 1819, most of them newcomers from the North and from Europe. The surrounding district was hardly more healthful. "Betwixt the fears of inundation, the efforts of the enslaved Africans to emancipate themselves, and the fatality of the climate, the opulent planters of Louisiana" were ill at ease.[13] New Orleans was still a foreign-looking

city with stucco houses, frescoed white and yellow, and the French were "the same gay, dancing, spectacle-loving race that they are everywhere else." The Americans came only to make money which they meant to spend elsewhere, hence they did not live in the showy, extravagant style of the creoles, and stayed as short a time as might be in a climate that was far more disastrous to them than to the natives. Race antagonism was still serious and resulted in frequent broils. The mixture of races was strikingly displayed in the vegetable market. "In a pleasant March forenoon, you see, perhaps, half the city there. The crowd covers half a mile in extent. The negroes, mulattoes, French, Spanish, Germans are all crying their articles in their several tongues." [14] The picturesque foreignness of the market was repeated on the river which was "crowded with the boats of French and Spanish pedlars, not much larger than perogues, but fitted up with a cabin, covered deck, and sails." [15] There, too, were the flatboats of the Kentuckians, loaded with flour, bacon, and whiskey, and manned by brawny frontiersmen, — boats battered and men gaunt with the vicissitudes of the three months' voyage. The first cargoes might be expected early in January when, arriving in advance of the glut, they could sell their flour at $12.50 a barrel.

The business of the place centred on the river front. Already in 1820 there were sometimes fifty steamboats lying in the harbor at one time, and from twelve to fifteen hundred flatboats moored along the wharves. The freight capacity of one of these

Flatboats and Steamboat on the Mississippi.

latter frequently reached sixty tons. Communication with the interior by steamboat was "easy, pleasant, and rapid." More than one hundred steamers were navigating the Mississippi and its principal tributaries. They were large side-wheelers for the most part, with excellent passenger accommodations and ample freight capacity. The coast trade with Mobile and Florida was carried on by three hundred schooners. Already more cotton was shipped from this port than from any other in America, and immense piles of cotton bales lay along the levee, waiting for an ocean steamer to carry them to New York, New England, or Europe. Sugar was a great and increasing crop, and Flint believed that enough might be grown in Louisiana to meet the consumption of the United States. There were very productive plantations on the Bayou Teche, along the Gulf Coast, and on the adjacent islands. Each sluggish stream and bayou formed its own embankment of rich, black soil, and the plantations were crowded into the fertile strip running from one to three miles back from the water. The growth reminded Flint of the rank cornfields of Missouri. The soil and climate of Louisiana were admirably suited to the development of the stalk, but it contained less saccharine matter than that grown in Cuba, and the seed cane must be planted every year, at considerable cost in time and labor. The most serious obstacle, however, was the scarcity of capital. A heavy investment was required for the sugar-houses (as large and imposing as New England factories), and for the purchase and maintenance of the force of

slaves. Rice and indigo had been cultivated formerly of a quality superior to the Georgia yield ; corn, sweet potatoes, melons, figs, and oranges, and all northern fruits, except apples, flourished; but the planters found more money profit in sugar and cotton, especially the former, so they were neglecting all other crops and "calculated to supply themselves with provisions almost entirely from the upper country." [16] Natchez was the up-country cotton market. At the shipping season a thousand boats of all descriptions, from the Pittsburgh-built steamboat to the log raft, lay at this landing, the town was full of boatmen, and the streets were almost barricaded with cotton bales.

Negroes were everywhere. Slave labor was deemed essential to the cultivation of cotton and sugar in a climate that was enervating to the whites. Without it, men believed, the land would relapse to wilderness. Flint, New England clergyman though he was, found himself agreeing with this point of view. "The slaves appeared to me to be as well fed and clothed as the labouring poor at the North." They were far better off physically than in the upper country, for their strength and contentment was the chief factor in prosperity, and it was the planter's interest that they should be kept in good bodily condition. Adequate food and shelter were provided for these valuable animals, as well as hospitals for the sick and regular medical attendance. The freed blacks led a wretched existence, Flint thought. They had few opportunities of earning an honest living and readily took to thieving and vice. Unlike the

plantation negroes, they had "the wretched privilege of getting drunk."[17] The poor whites of the upper river set them a demoralizing example, as did also the mongrel population, French and Spanish mixed with Indian blood, who were "vagabonds almost to a man." "Scarcely any of them have any regular occupation, unless it be that of herding cattle; but they raise a little maize, and fish a little, and hunt a little, and smoke and lounge a great deal."[18]

Timothy Flint, going up to Natchitoches in 1820, found flourishing plantations all the way. The climate was not warm enough for sugar-cane, but the cotton plant grew as high as a man's head and yielded two bales to the acre. Wheat grew eighty bushels to the acre, and the selling price was $3.50 per bushel. Alexandria was the market for the parish of Rapide and the upper river since the rapids prevented steamers going farther except in high water, when they ventured to Natchitoches. Above that point the Great Raft proved an insuperable barrier for all craft larger than the pirogues, which went on to the United States garrison at Kiamesha. From Natchitoches a lively trade was conducted with San Antonio, Monclava, and the City of Mexico. Mules laden with silver were driven over the Camino Real, and horses bred by the Texas *rancheros* were sold to the merchants, who sent them to the farmers of Missouri and Kentucky. This frontier town was, moreover, a harbor of refuge for criminals, both Spanish and American.

Louisiana was not all cane, corn, and cotton. Two-thirds of the state was swamp and pine barren.

To the west and north the land was high and the soil thin and sandy. Here great droves of cattle and hogs fattened on the mast and native grasses, settlements were few and far apart, and "there being little call for labor, the inhabitants labor little, and are content with indolence, health and poverty." [19]

CHAPTER II

MISSOURI TERRITORY

The watershed of the Arkansas River was not regarded as a hopeful opportunity for the pioneer. For an unknown distance back from the Mississippi, the land was low and flat, and the rivers flowed sluggishly through vast swamps or widened out into lakes and bayous, infested by alligators and mosquitoes and overhung by malarial vapors, poisonous to persons not habituated to the climate. Here grew nothing that could be made to serve man's needs except the funereal cypress, and no industry might be developed except that of the wood-cutters who shipped scow-loads of lumber and fuel to New Orleans. The Arkansas River was navigable for keel-boats for two hundred miles, and the Washita, Black, White and St. Francis served the purposes of commerce, except where the drifted timber had collected in great rafts that effectively blocked passage. Occasional elevations or prairies (*e.g.* Grand Prairie, one hundred miles in length) furnished the only opportunity for settlement, and these were quickly found and utilized. When Nuttall descended the Mississippi in 1819, he found the French villages dwindling. Big and Little Prairie had been destroyed by the earthquake of 1811 [1] and by subsequent inundations, and the region was still subject to an occasional shock by no means reassuring to

the soul of the pioneer. The *habitants* were "here, as elsewhere, in miserable circumstances," [2] and raised "no wheat, and scarcely enough of maize for their support." They still dressed in the half-Indian costume of the *voyageur*, — "blanket *capeaus*, buckskin pantaloons, and moccasins," with no head covering but a handkerchief, for men and women alike. For the isolated squatter, the hunt was still an important supplement to farming, and these "hunting farmers" brought their beaver skins to Nuttall's bateau "anxious to barter them for whiskey, though scarcely possessed either of bread or vegetables." New Madrid was an insignificant hamlet,[3] made up of some twenty log houses and two or three stores miserably supplied with goods that sold at exorbitant prices. Arkansas Post, built on a bluff beyond the reach of inundations, was still a considerable town, boasting from thirty to forty houses and three mercantile establishments. The proprietors brought groceries and textiles from New Orleans and hardware from Pittsburgh, and they were accustomed to carry their stock in trade up the Arkansas as far as Fort Smith.[4] The farmers in the neighborhood of the Post were largely French and were growing good crops of corn and cotton. The rich alluvial soil produced from one thousand to fifteen hundred pounds of cotton to the acre and, since this sold at $5 to $6 per hundredweight in the seed, the crop was a paying one. Of slaves there were few in this primitive community, but white labor was to be had at from $12 to $15 per month with board. Settlement was retarded by uncertainty as to land

titles, occasioned by the Spanish grants that had not yet been confirmed or annulled by the United States government. The Winters of Natchez claimed a tract of one million acres in the immediate vicinity of the Post, two Spanish *commandantes* had received grants of indefinite extent on White River, while Baron Bastrop's fifty thousand acres on the Washita were claimed by his heirs.[5]

On the prairies back from the river were some French-speaking squatters, half-breeds or *metifs*, said to be descended from the ten men whom Tonti had left at the Post in 1686. They had degenerated to the savage state and were "entirely hunters, Indians in habit, and paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil." The American settlers farther up the stream were for the most part from Kentucky and Tennessee. They were growing corn and cotton with success, but hesitated to make any permanent improvements because of their uncertain tenure. Cotton-gins, sawmills, and grist-mills were projected, but little had as yet been accomplished. At Little Rock, the entrance to the hill country, a Georgian named Hogan had laid out a town and proposed to utilize the water-power. At the mouth of the Cadron another town was projected, and the one occupant of a town lot cherished great hopes of the future; but to Nuttall's unbiased judgment there seemed no reason for any accession of population or business. The last white settlement on the Arkansas was at Pecannerie (so named for the pecan trees that grew in the surrounding forests). Here some sixty families had found fertile lands and a whole-

some climate, but the men were renegades and fugitives from justice, an ignorant and lawless lot. They were too far from the market to sell cotton at a paying price ($3 per hundredweight in seed) and their agriculture was confined to corn and potatoes for their own food.

Nuttall thought the agricultural possibilities of Arkansas unequalled if once the swamps were drained and the rivers cleared of obstructions. Cotton, corn, rice, indigo, tobacco, and hemp bore abundantly, while subtropic fruits, peaches, plums and grapes flourished in the open, and well-laden orchards were seen even about the Indian villages. Cattle were allowed to run at large, since they required no shelter and were driven in only for an occasional counting and salting. They subsisted through the mild winters on the natural fodder furnished by the canebrakes and shave rush (*equisetum hiemale*). No attention was paid to breed, not even of horses. These, too, ran wild and, though they deteriorated in size, grew stocky and vigorous after the hardy Spanish type. They brought from $50 to $100 apiece in the local market. South of Fort Smith in the valley of the "Pottoe" (Poteau) River was a wonderful pasture-land. "The whole country was a prairie, full of luxuriant grass," [6] and this natural pasturage extended "even to the summits of the hills, offering an almost inexhaustible range to cattle." [7] Here were feeding throngs of wild horses, herds of deer, and even an occasional buffalo.

On the lower river, government surveyors were already at work, plotting the lands of first and

second grade, and these were soon to be sold at auction at the minimum rate of $2 per acre. Speculators were also on the ground with land scrip representing the preëmption rights of veterans of the recent war, which they had bought at from $3 to $10 per acre, assuming the payment to the land office and expecting to recoup themselves out of sales to prospective emigrants. All of the land was fertile, but much of it lay so low as to be unfit for human habitation, and the advertisements printed in the eastern papers were usually misleading. Martin Chuzzlewit's "Eden" is a fair example of the frauds perpetrated on the ignorant investor. Wherever there was sufficient altitude to provide drainage, however, the climate was salubrious, and the settlements flourished. A town in this region with a fortunate location was like Jonah's gourd, the growth of a night.

White River, in its upper reaches, flowed through flinty hills, and although the narrow bottoms were fertile and capable of producing excellent crops of corn, wheat, and cotton, the river was not navigable except for canoes and there was no inducement to raise crops that could not be got to market. Here conditions were primitive indeed. Schoolcraft, the geologist, who visited the region in 1819, describes the people. "The only inhabitants on the upper parts of White River, so far as inhabitants have penetrated, are hunters, who live in camps and log-cabins, and support themselves by hunting the bear, deer, buffalo, elk, beaver, raccoon, and other animals who are found in great plenty in that region.

They also raise some corn for bread, and for feeding their horses, on preparing for long journeys into the woods, or other extraordinary occasions. They seldom, however, cultivate more than an acre or two, subsisting chiefly on animal food and wild honey, and pay no attention to the cultivation of garden vegetables, if I except some cabbages, noticed at a few habitations. When the season of hunting arrives, the ordinary labors of a man about the house and cornfield devolve upon the women, whose condition in such a state of society may readily be imagined. They in fact pursue a similar course of life with the savages; having embraced their love of ease, and their contempt for agricultural pursuits, with their sagacity in the chase, their mode of dressing in skins, their manners, and their hospitality to strangers.

"The furs and peltries which are collected during repeated excursions in the woods, are taken down the river at certain seasons in canoes, and disposed of to traders who visit the lower parts of this river for that purpose. Here they receive in exchange for their furs woolen cloths, rifles, knives and hatchets, salt, powder, lead, iron for horse shoes, blankets, iron pots, shoes, and other articles of primary importance in their way of life. Those living near the cultivated parts of Lawrence County, in Arkansas Territory, also bring down in exchange for such articles, buffaloe beef, pork, bears' meat, bees' wax, and honey; which are again sold by the traders along the banks of the Mississippi, or at New Orleans. Very little cash is paid, and that in hard money only, no bank bills of

any kind being taken in that quarter. I happened to be present, on my return from the head waters of White River, at one of these exchanges, where a further opportunity was offered of observing the manners and character of these *savage Europeans*. Bears' meat was sold at $10 per cwt.; buffaloe beef at $4; cows' beef at $3; pork, in the hog, at $3.50; venison hams at 25 cents each; wild turkies the same; wild honey at $1 per gallon; beaver fur $2 per lb.; bears' skins $1.50 each; otter's skins $2 a piece; raccoon 25 cents each; deers' skins 25 cents per lb. These prices were considered high by the purchaser, but they were only nominally so, for he paid them off in articles at the most exorbitant rates. Common three-point or Mackinaw blankets were sold at $8 each; butcher knives at $2; rifle locks at $8; common coarse blue cloth at $6 per yard; coffee at 75 cents per lb.; salt at $5 per bushel; lead at 25 cents per lb.; gunpowder at $2 per lb.; axes at $6 each; horse shoe nails at $3 per set, &c. The trade of this river is consequently attended with profits which amply repay for the risks and fatigues incident to a voyage in that quarter. Vast quantities of furs and skins are annually brought down this river, with some bees' wax, honey, beef, bacon, &c." [8]

The United States government had chosen the upper Arkansas valley for an Indian reservation, and was removing hither the tribes whose lands were coveted by the whites. The Quapaws had sold sixty thousand square miles in the lower valley for $4000 down and an annuity of $1000. The bargain had proved a good one for the government, for these same

lands were now being sold at $10 an acre. The Cherokees, transplanted from Georgia, were cultivating the soil and building houses that compared well with those of the white settlers, although the government had not yet established their titles. The Osages, freshly removed from their villages north of the Arkansas, were less promising. Long intercourse with the trader had brought to nought their native industries, and had taught them nothing better. Drunken and profligate, and cherishing a sense of grievance, the young braves revenged themselves on the trappers who fell into their power, stealing their horses and stripping and torturing the defenceless men. Bad blood was brewing between the Indians and the squatters who were forced to vacate and make way for these mischievous wards of Uncle Sam. It was already becoming apparent that the Indians could not subsist without the buffalo herds, which had furnished them with food, clothing, and shelter from time immemorial. As the white man advanced up the water-courses, the herds retreated before his deadly firearms. Experienced hunters estimated that this withdrawal was proceeding at the rate of ten miles a year. The annual slaughter was estimated at two hundred thousand, of which total not more than five thousand were killed by the whites. The diminished herds took refuge in the "parks" at the head waters of the Arkansas and Platte and crossed the many passes of the Rocky and Wasatch ranges to the bunch grass "benches" on their western slopes.

Arkansas was the veritable frontier. Some fifteen hundred hunters and trappers, unaccustomed to re-

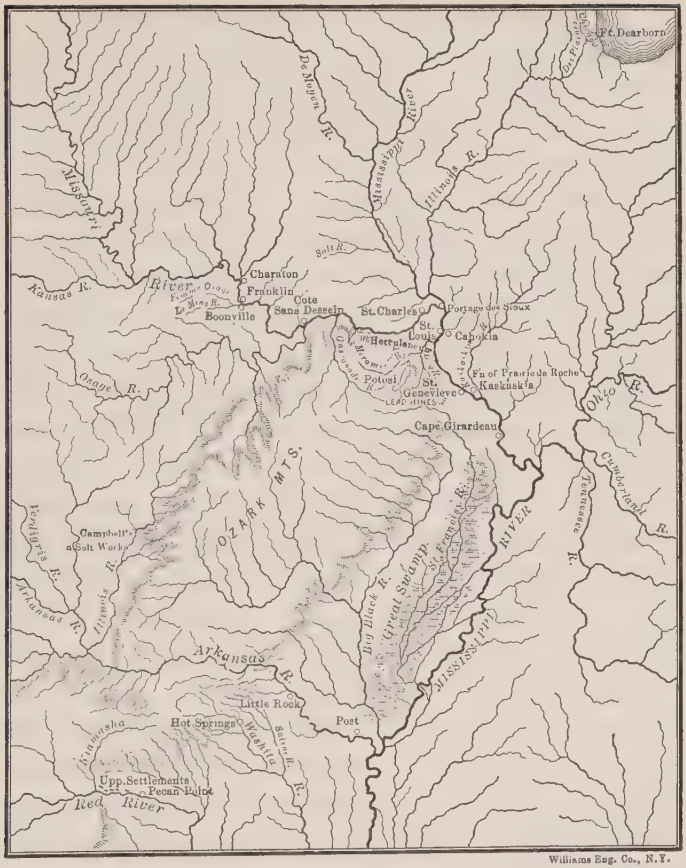
straint, degenerate in habits and morals, supported a miserable existence in the back country, while the town population was largely composed of renegades and fugitives from justice who sought escape from civil authority. The territory of Arkansas was organized in 1821, and a governor was sent out from Washington who inaugurated his administration at Arkansas Post with considerable pomp; but the laws against gambling, etc., enacted by the infant legislature, were broken by the officials themselves with small regard for decency, and the "rough and untamed" people pursued their licentious practices unchecked.

The Missouri River Settlements

The valley of the Missouri was better drained than that of the Arkansas, and the climate was more bracing, while soil and rainfall were no less auspicious. When Lewis and Clark went up the river in 1804, they noted the fields of corn and wheat belonging to the *habitants* of Portage des Sioux showing fair in the rich bottom lands of the north bank. The village of St. Charles, or Petite Côte, as the people preferred to call it, contained about one hundred houses, "the most of them small and indifferent," and four hundred people, chiefly Canadian French with an occasional dash of Indian blood. "A great majority of the inhabitants are miserably pour illiterate and when at home excessively lazy, tho' they are polite hospitable and by no means deficient in point of natural genious. . . . A small garden of vegetables is the usual extent of their cultivation, and this is commonly imposed on the old-men and boys; the

men in the vigor of life consider the cultivation of the earth a degrading occupation, and in order to gain the necessary subsistence for themselves and families, either undertake hunting voyages on their own account, or engage themselves as hirelings"[9] to men with sufficient capital to fit out more ambitious expeditions. On Femme Osage (Boone's Lick), where many people came down to the river's bank to watch the passing of the explorers, there were thirty or forty American families. The first settler was Daniel Boone, the pioneer of the trans-Alleghany migration, who, having lost his lands in Kentucky by some lawyer's trick, had moved on to this new frontier and secured a Spanish grant (1798).

When the Astorians ascended the river six years later, the *ultima thule* of civilization was sixty miles above St. Charles on Boone's Lick. Boone had just returned from the spring hunt with sixty beaver skins, and he overlooked the launching of Hunt's bateaux with a professional eye. Bradbury's description is graphic. "The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb and unflinching in spirit; and as he stood on the river-bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, very probably felt a throb of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band."[10] Brackenridge, who was of Lisa's party, noted with surprise that there were "tolerable plantations" in the bottom lands as far as Point Labadie. "These usually consist of a few acres cleared, on the borders of the river, with a small log hut or cabin, and stables



Settlements in Upper Louisiana, 1820.

for horses, etc. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpions, potatoes, and a few vegetables. But they have abundance of hogs and horned cattle." [11] On Le Mine River were valuable salt-works under the management of Braxton Cooper of Culpepper, Virginia. "The settlement is but one year old, but is already considerable, and increasing rapidly; it con-

sists of seventy-five families, the greater part living on the bank of the river, in the space of four or five miles. They are generally persons in good circumstances, most of them have slaves. Mr. Cooper informed me that the upland, back, is the most beautiful he ever beheld. He thinks that from the mouth of the Missouri to this place, the country for at least forty miles from the river, may bear the character of rich woodland; the prairies forming but trifling proportions." [12]

The *Journal* of the Long expedition (1821) gives evidence of considerable accessions to the population of Missouri in the eleven years interval. The pioneers were mostly emigrants from Tennessee, well-to-do farmers, who took up land in the river bottoms and worked them by slave labor. The settlements were prosperous, although somewhat retarded by the uncertainty of land titles and the preëmption of the most desirable locations by speculators. Côte Sans Dessein, opposite the mouth of the Osage, boasted thirty families and as many small log cabins, but though the soil was extraordinarily fertile, improvements were discouraged by the fact that the tract was claimed by Chouteau on the basis of a Spanish grant. Just above the Osage on the south bank of the Missouri, the land had been "located" for a town, and lots were being sold in St. Louis at prices varying from $50 to $180 each. Above Little Manito Rocks (Boone County), were several mushroom towns with no more than half-a-dozen houses apiece,—Nashville, Rectorsville, Smithton, etc., each named after the fond

projector who cherished great hopes of the future. "Almost every settler, who has established himself on the Missouri, is confidently expecting that his farm is, in a few years, to become the seat of wealth and business, and the mart for an extensive district." [13] Franklin, a two-year-old village across the river from Booneville, was confident of becoming a metropolis. Here uncleared land was selling at from $2 to $10 and $15 an acre, corn brought twenty-five cents a bushel, wheat $1, and bacon twelve and a half cents a pound, while labor cost seventy-five cents a day. The fecundity of the soil was unparalleled, and tillage proved comparatively inexpensive. A slave could cultivate twenty acres of corn and produce sixty bushels per acre in a season, whereas in Kentucky the same amount of labor was expended on fifteen acres with a smaller acreage return, so that the profits of farming were reckoned to be one-third less than in Missouri. Chariton, a village of fifty houses and five hundred people, was the last white settlement, and the inhabitants lined the bank to see the *Western Engineer*, the first steamboat that had ever ascended the Missouri. Beyond, the only sign of white occupation was an occasional trapper's lodge, where some worn-out mountain man had undertaken to till the soil and had painfully "made his first crop." One such man was planning to take his family up the Platte River.

The pioneers of the westward migration in Missouri, as in Arkansas, were mere "squatters," — worn-out trappers fain to eke out existence for themselves and their half-breed families by desultory farming,

luckless traders so long accustomed to intercourse with the Indians that the ways of civilization were irksome to them, refugees and renegades who sought exemption from restraint in the region Flint called "the land beyond the Sabbath." Such a man did not buy land, but put up a temporary shelter in a location where wood, water, and pasturage were abundant and where the hunting was still good. Since his only wealth was in horses, cattle, and swine, he lost nothing by change of habitat. "When the canes are fed down and destroyed, and the acorns become scarce, the small corn-field and the rude cabin are abandoned, and the *squatter* goes in search of a place where all the original wealth of the forest is yet undiminished. Here he again builds his hut, removes the trees from a few acres of land, which supplies its annual crop of corn, while the neighboring woods, for an extent of several miles, are used both as pasture and hunting grounds." [14] James, the chronicler of the Long expedition, quotes Boone as saying that it was high time to move when a man could no longer fell a tree for firewood within a few yards of his cabin door.

The bulk of the pioneers came of Southern stock, often from Virginia or the Carolinas direct, but more frequently from Tennessee, Kentucky or the Gulf states, or from the lower counties of the commonwealths beyond the Ohio where the infusion of Southern blood was strong; and everywhere the Scotch-Irish element led the van. Vigorous, self-assertive, resourceful, the Appalachian mountaineers revelled in the vicissitudes and perils of the wilderness, and

were more at home in a prairie schooner than in a comfortable but stationary dwelling. The westward movement was impelled not so much by necessity as by the love of adventure and the belief that somewhere beyond civilization lay the opportunity for speedy wealth. The direction of migration was determined by successive crazes,—*e.g.* for Boone's Lick, for Salt River (Iowa), for the Mauvaises Terres on the Illinois, for Colonel Austin's colony on the Brazos.

After the peace of Ghent had guaranteed the tranquillity of the frontier, came the permanent settlers bringing wives and children from "back east," together with agricultural implements, domestic utensils, and slaves. They came in flatboats down the Ohio or the Cumberland or the Tennessee to the great river that swept them on to Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Schoolcraft, on his voyage from Cairo to St. Louis, passed a score or more of "boats of all denominations, laden with merchandize, and emigrant passengers, chiefly destined for Boon's Lick on the Missouri,"[15] then reputed to be one of the richest bodies of land west of the Alleghanies. These emigrants were largely from the Northern states,—Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, western New York and Pennsylvania, with a few Kentucky families of the better type, and their principal settlement, Franklin, was a center of light and learning, as well as of commerce.

On the Whitewater, back of Cape Girardeau, was a colony of German Lutherans, most of whom had come first to Pennsylvania or North Carolina and later moved on to Missouri in search of better land.

Flint describes them as honest and industrious, with a passion for stone houses and barns, good orchards and permanent improvements. Their horses and cattle were of a superior breed and their fields well cultivated. Their women were quiet, patient and hard-working, and devoted themselves to the housewifely arts of the Old World with pathetic persistence. They formed a marked contrast to their French neighbors, "who were crowded into villages with mud hovels, fond of conversation and coffee," but rarely putting forth industrial energy sufficient to raise them above indigence. The Germans were a large, stout, ruddy race, whereas the Frenchmen were "spare, thin, sallow and tanned, with their flesh adhering to their bones, and apparently dried to the consistency of parchment." [16] The German and the French settlers were alike at least in this — they clung to their native language and the forms of their inherited worship with stubborn persistence.

Timothy Flint resided at St. Charles for the years 1816–1818 and he describes the inrush of people. "The immigration from the western and southern states to this country poured in a flood, the power and strength of which could only be adequately conceived by persons on the spot. We have numbered a hundred persons passing through the village of St. Charles in one day. The number was said to have equalled that for many days together. From the Mamelles I have looked over the subjacent plain quite to the ferry, where the immigrants crossed the upper Mississippi. I have seen

in this extent nine wagons harnessed with from four to six horses. We may allow a hundred cattle, besides hogs, horses, and sheep, to each wagon; and from three or four to twenty slaves. The whole appearance of the train, the cattle with their hundred bells; the negroes with delight in their countenances, for their labors are suspended and their imaginations excited; the wagons, often carrying two or three tons, so loaded that the mistress and children are strolling carelessly along, in a gait which enables them to keep up with the slow travelling carriage; — the whole group occupies three quarters of a mile. The slaves generally seem fond of their masters, and quite as much delighted and interested in the immigration, as the master. It is to me a very pleasing and patriarchal scene. . . . Just about nightfall, they come to a spring or a branch, where there is water and wood. The pack of dogs sets up a cheerful barking. The cattle lie down and ruminate. The team is unharnessed. The huge waggons are covered, so that the roof completely excludes the rain. The cooking utensils are brought out. The blacks prepare a supper, which the toils of the day render delicious; and they talk over the adventures of the past day, and the prospects of the next. Meantime, they are going where there is nothing but buffaloes and deer to limit their range, even to the western sea." [17]

Prosperity was to be had on easy terms. "A Missouri planter, with a moderate force and a good plantation, can be as independent as it is fit that we should be. . . . One of my immediate neighbors, on

the prairie below St. Charles, had a hired white man, a negro, and two sons large enough to begin to help him. He had an hundred acres enclosed. He raised, the year that I came away, two thousand four hundred bushels of corn, eight hundred bushels of wheat, and other articles in proportion, and the number of cattle and hogs that he might raise was indefinite; for the pasturage and hay were as sufficient for a thousand cattle as for twenty. . . . Any person, able and disposed to labour, is forever freed from the apprehension of poverty. . . . A vigorous and active young man needs but two years of personal labour to have a farm ready for the support of a small family. . . . The soil is free from stones, loose and mellow, and needs no manure, and it is very abundant in the productions natural to it, the principal of which are corn, fruits, and wheat. The calculation is commonly made, that two days in a week contribute as much to support here, as the whole week at the North." [18] Missouri was free from the "fever and ague" that infested the heavily timbered lands in Illinois and along the Mississippi, and the immigrants passed by these fertile regions and pressed on to the wholesomer country beyond.

The enthusiasm of the colonist was whetted and directed by the zeal of the speculator. Of the methods by which these latter gentry succeeded in getting possession of the best locations we are told by one James Flint, a Scotchman, who came down the Ohio to St. Louis in an open boat in 1819, and saw many things by the way. The public lands in Missouri "are exposed by auction, in quarter sec-

tions of 160 acres each. A considerable part of them sold at from three to six dollars per acre. Lots, not sold at auction, may be subsequently bought at the land-office for two dollars per acre, on paying half a dollar in ready money and the remainder within five years. Land dealers are very vigilant in securing for themselves great quantities of the best land. It is not uncommon for reconnoitering parties of them to lodge in the woods for a whole week. By such means much of the best land, mill-seats and other local advantages, are withdrawn from the market at the first public sales. . . . The most advantageous purchases are considered to be those on the edges of prairies, with a part of the open land, and a part of the woods."[19]

The farmers of Missouri, as in other pioneer communities, were heavily indebted to the older and wealthier states east of the Alleghanies for the capital with which to purchase and improve their lands. The crisis of 1819 and the consequent curtailment of credit was an unprecedented calamity. The local banks, which had been doing business on the wildcat plan, failed one and all, and their notes were valueless. There was no specie in the country, and the most thriving towns were suddenly reduced to barter. The newly organized state legislature resorted to a desperate expedient. An issue of $2,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness was authorized, and this state currency was declared receivable for taxes and all obligations to the treasury including royalties from the salt works. The certificates were none the less in contravention of the

Constitution of the United States and were declared invalid by the courts. Settlers who had taken up government land on the credit system were in dire straits, for no matter how productive their farms, they could get no money with which to pay the installments as they fell due. Congress came to their relief by extending the time of payment and by cancelling such portion of the obligation as might be deducted on account of lands surrendered. In marked exception to the general bankruptcy, showed the German settlements; these sturdy immigrants had refused to touch the bank money and insisted on receiving all payments in specie.

The environment of the pioneer farmer is described by Edward Flagg, a Cincinnati journalist of New England antecedents who visited Illinois and Missouri in 1836. "There are few objects to be met with in the backwoods of the West more unique and picturesque than the dwelling of the emigrant. After selecting an elevated spot as a site for building, a cabin or log house — which is somewhat of an improvement upon the first — is erected in the following manner. A sufficient number of straight trees, of a size convenient for removing, are felled, slightly hewn upon the opposite sides, and the extremities notched or mortised with the axe. They are then piled upon each other so that the extremities lock together; and a single or double edifice is constructed, agreeable to the taste or ability of the builder. Ordinarily the cabin consists of two quadrangular apartments, separated by a broad area between, connected by a common floor, and covered

by a common roof, presenting a parallelogram triple the length of its width. The better of these apartments is usually appropriated to the entertainment of the casual guest, and is furnished with several beds and some articles of rude furniture to correspond. The open area constitutes the ordinary sitting and eating apartment of the family in fine weather; and, from its coolness, affords a delightful retreat. The intervals between the logs are stuffed with fragments of wood or stone, and plastered with mud or mortar, and the chimney is constructed much in the same manner. The roof is covered with thin clapboards of oak or ash, and, in lieu of nails, transverse pieces of timber retain them in their places. Thousands of cabins are thus constructed, without a particle of iron or even a common plank. The rough clapboards give to the roof almost the shaggy aspect of thatch at a little distance, but they render it impermeable to even the heaviest and most protracted rain-storms. A rude gallery often extends along one or both sides of the building, adding much to its coolness in summer and to its warmth in winter by the protection afforded from sun and snow. The floor is constructed of short, thick planks, technically termed 'puncheons,' which are confined by wooden pins; and, though hardly smooth enough for a ball-room, yet well answer every purpose for a dwelling, and effectually resist moisture and cold. The apertures are usually cut with a view to free ventilation, and the chimneys stand at the extremities outside the walls of the cabin. A few pounds of nails, a few boxes of glass,

a few hundred feet of lumber, and a few days assistance of a house carpenter, would, of course, contribute not a little to the comfort of the *shieling;* but neither of these are indispensable." [20] "The furniture of the apartment consisted of two plank-erections designed for bedsteads, which, with a tall clothes-press, divers rude boxes, and a side-saddle, occupied a better moiety of the area; while a rough table, a shelf against the wall, upon which stood a water-pail, a gourd, and a few broken trenchers, completed the house-hold paraphernalia of this most unique of habitations. A half-consumed flitch of bacon suspended in the chimney, and a huge iron pot upon the fire, from which issued a savory indication of the seething mess within, completes the 'still-life' of the picture." [21] "In rear of the premises rise the out-buildings; stables, corn-crib, meat-house, etc., all of them quite as perfect in structure as the dwelling itself, and quite as comfortable for residence. If to all this we add a well, walled up with a section of a hollow cotton-wood, a cellar or cave in the earth for pantry, a zigzag rail fence enclosing the whole clearing, a dozen acres of Indian corn bristling up beyond, a small garden and orchard, and a host of swine, cattle, and naked children about the door, and the *toute ensemble* of a back-woods farmhouse is complete. . . . The present mode of cultivation sweeps off vast quantities of timber; but it must soon be superseded. Houses of brick and stone will take the place of log-cabins; hedge-rows will supply that of rail enclosures, while coal for fuel will be a substitute for wood." [20]

Missouri offered great attractions to the pioneer farmer. The land in the river-bottoms, where the rich black loam had accumulated to a depth of thirty feet, was of phenomenal fertility, while the ridges of flint and limestone that divided the river courses in the southern portion afforded excellent pasture. Here were thousands of acres of the rank native herbage to which the oak trees, grown hoary in the course of centuries, gave a parklike beauty. There was little of the malaria-infested swamp-land that was the bane of settlers on the lower Mississippi. The climate was dry and wholesome and the temperature quite uniform, avoiding the severe winters of New England and the hot summers of Louisiana. All the cereals, corn, wheat, rye, and oats, were successfully grown. Corn was especially prolific, running up to a height of twenty feet and bearing ninety bushels to the acre. Flax, hemp, and tobacco did well in the rich bottom lands where the nitrogenous elements of the soil were renewed by yearly floods. A farmer's family was self-sustaining so far as bread and meat, fruit and vegetables were concerned, and might even make shift to provide sufficient clothing. Cotton was grown in the southern districts "for family use, not for market," and a coarse cotton cloth was woven by the women of the household. If the settlement was near a navigable river, the surplus stock of grain, salt meat, and live stock might be got to market, but the demand for farm products was limited. Only the few flatboats that reached New Orleans early in the season could command paying prices and

later cargoes were often sold at loss. As cultivation extended, prices of food-stuffs fell below the cost of production, and the sale of the grain boats barely covered the expenses of the voyage. The farmers were therefore obliged to live off their own and abjure imported goods. Tea, coffee, and foreign sugar were high-priced luxuries, indulged in sparingly by all but the few who had money to spend. Manufactures were developing, however, with the increase in local demand. Flour-mills and distilleries, sawmills and tan-yards, were among the first, but carding machines, fulling and cloth mills soon followed. These last were on Big River and were run by water-power.[22]

The very abundance of the natural resources of the country proved a detriment. Soil, timber, and mineral wealth were exploited as if the supply was limitless. Waste of timber had some justification among the pioneers east of the Mississippi where trees stood in the way of cultivation and shut out the air and sunlight on which health depended; but here on the margin of a treeless region, needless destruction of the forest growth was manifestly disastrous. Nevertheless, the pines and oaks were remorselessly felled, and every settlement showed what Flint called a "Kentucky outline of dead trees, and huge logs lying on all sides in the fields." [23] Underbrush was fired with wanton carelessness, and thousands of acres of pasture went up in smoke. A light wind served to carry the conflagration to a great distance, and often travellers over the tenantless plains were overtaken by the flames and destroyed.

The mineral deposits were treated with the same careless disregard of the future. In 1780, one of the hunters (named Burton or Breton), left at Ste. Genevieve by Renault, literally stumbled upon a surface deposit of lead and, recognizing its value, gave notice of his find to the authorities. During the Spanish régime, a little ore was brought to Ste. Genevieve and smelted in an open log furnace, but by this crude process hardly fifty per cent of the metal was extracted. This was sent down the river in pig, and no manufactures were attempted. In 1797, Moses Austin, a Connecticut Yankee who had had some experience of lead mining on New River, in Virginia, brought his family and his slaves to this region and, having secured a league-square land grant from Carondelet, began operations at Mine à Burton. He introduced scientific methods of smelting, erected a reverberatory furnace and a shot tower, and shipped shot and sheet lead to New Orleans and Havana. Other American settlers discovered Mine à Robin, Mine à Martin, etc., and it soon became evident that a very important mineral region, three thousand square miles in extent, lay in the hills between the sources of the Big and St. Francis rivers. Silver and zinc were mingled with the lead. Iron Mountain, a ridge from five to six hundred feet high, was largely composed of iron of excellent quality, while Chartier and Cedar Creek furnished water-power adequate to "drive any number of forges." Black manganese, alum, and saltpetre were also abundant, and only capital was needed to develop industries of the first order.

The new arrivals regarded the mineral resources of the territory as free to all American citizens. Miners worked on their own account or in little companies and were content to raise the surface deposits with pickaxe and shovel, never using anything more elaborate than a bucket and windlass. When at a depth of ten or fifteen feet a bed of limestone was encountered, the diggings were abandoned and a new bed was sought for, until the whole region was torn up with prospectors' holes. Schoolcraft, the geologist, who made a study of the region in 1819, protested against this extravagance. "Much time is thus consumed, in hunting new beds of ore, which if spent in labour upon the old ones, would be found infinitely more advantageous. Thus a kind of laziness is created; — they who spend the most time in hunting for ore, spend the least in digging it." [24] Austin had condemned this wasteful practice quite as strongly in a report submitted to the government in 1816. He himself had sunk a shaft eighty feet deep and found rich deposits below the rock ledge. It was evident that the reckless drift-mining menaced the future of the industry, but there were few men in the field who had capital or ability to work a force of slaves under scientific direction. The ordinary miner sold the ore he raised to the proprietor of a furnace for $2 per hundredweight and realized on an average $2 a day, — no more than the wage of a skilled mechanic in the neighborhood. The rock, cleaned of spar, was smelted in an open-hearth furnace which was fired by logs and kept at a steady and increasing heat for twenty-four hours,

when the lead was run off. Much of the metal remained in the ashes, perhaps fifty per cent,[25] but the process was inexpensive. The open hearth was built of loose stones, cost but $50 to $60, and required only three men to run it — one to fetch wood and two to guard the fire in alternate watches — whereas the ash furnace cost $100 and necessitated more skill. The pigs were carted to Ste. Genevieve or Herculaneum and sold to merchants, who shipped the metal down the river or converted it into shot for sale to the fur companies of St. Louis.

The first shot-tower was put up by Jean Maklot in 1809, the second by Moses Austin the year following. Schoolcraft describes the process used. "A considerable proportion of the lead made in this [Missouri] Territory is manufactured into shot. There are 3 shot towers in the vicinity of Herculaneum, where shot is made by letting it fall down the banks of the Mississippi. The banks at this place consist of limestone, which forms a perpendicular bluff of about 100 feet immediately at the water's edge, both above and below the town. On this bluff a small wooden tower is erected, with a furnace and kettles for preparing, smelting, and casting the lead, and having a projection in front, from which the lead is dropped into a receptacle with water below, where there is another building and apparatus for glazing and polishing. The lead, previous to being dropped, is prepared by mixing with it a small quantity of arsenic, which renders it more fluid in casting, and increases its hardness when cold. It is melted in an iron pot in the upper part

of the tower, and poured into a copper sieve, made by perforating a copper pan full of holes, of the size of the shot, through which the globules of fluid lead drop into the cistern below. By the time they reach the water they have become sufficiently cool to preserve their globular shapes. Shot of the largest size require to be dropped from the greatest height, say 140 feet, while the small sizes are only suffered to fall about 90 feet. One man will smelt and cast, after the lead is prepared by alloying it with arsenic, from 4 to 5000 lbs. per day. To polish these will occupy him nine days. The polishing is done by putting a quantity of shot into a hollow cylindrical wooden vessel or barrel, which is fixed on a shaft and turned by a crank. The action of the shot against each other, converts them into perfect spheres, and a little plumbago which is added gives them a gloss, in which state they are ready for market.

"An improvement has lately been made here by Mr. Elias Bates, which facilitates the casting of shot, and supersedes the necessity of using a sieve. He has a ladle of cast iron, in the shape of a parallelogram, but smaller at the bottom than the top. The two longest, being opposite sides of this ladle, are perforated with holes near, and at an equal distance from, the top, so that by canting the ladle a little either way, the shot drop through, and as the ladle is smallest at the bottom, are not at all impeded on their way to the cistern below. The quantity of shot made here for 18 months, ending 1st June, 1817, was 668,350 lbs. The present

price of shot is $7.50 per cwt. The business, I am told, has been very profitable." [26]

Austin estimated the yield from the Mine à Burton from 1798 to 1804, at 360,000 pounds per annum; from 1804 to 1808, at 800,000 pounds, and from that date to 1816, the year of his report to the government, at 500,000. The total production since his coming to the country he estimated at approximately 9,360,000 pounds. Schoolcraft estimated the output of 1819 for the whole region at 4,971,000 pounds and thought the gross product since the acquisition of Louisiana might be put at 55,000,000, a sum total which at four cents a pound must have brought in $3,000,000,—one-fifth of the purchase price. The number of men employed—miners, teamsters, blacksmiths, woodcutters—was approximately 1130 in 1819, and in the four years of maximum production the number had been considerably larger. There were forty-five lead mines and thirty-four furnaces, while the shot towers crowned every point of vantage on the bluffs of Herculaneum. Lead mining was an industry that rivalled the fur trade in industrial importance, if not in dramatic interest.

Even more essential to the prosperity of the frontier, though representing less capital and smaller revenue, were the numerous salt-works. Salines were more frequent and extensive west of the Mississippi because of the lighter rainfall and greater proportion of sunshine inducing evaporation. The brine, whether found in swamps, lakes, or springs, was reduced by boiling in open kettles,

and there was no attempt at refining. Fifty or sixty gallons of brine were sufficient to produce one bushel of salt which sold in the neighborhood at $1 per bushel. On the Saline Fork of Le Mine River, were salt-works where Braxton Cooper was getting out one hundred bushels a week, and on Camp Fork, a Mr. Lockhart was manufacturing five hundred bushels. The Saline Creek that emptied into the Mississippi just below Ste. Genevieve furnished the people of that district with this necessity of life; the deposits on Salt River, one hundred miles north of St. Louis, were extensively worked, while the rich salines on Des Moines River were attracting attention. A law of 1807 reserved from sale such public lands as were supposed to contain salt or minerals, and provided for a system of three-year leases and the payment of a royalty to the government. Apparently this was intended not so much to secure revenue as to conserve the natural resources of the country, but the difficulty of enforcing the law was so great that the restriction was largely inoperative.

Whatever the pioneer industry, whether the output was salt, lead, furs, flour, cotton, or tobacco, cheap transportation was essential to success. The country offered few obstacles to road-building, but the public authorities had small revenue with which to finance such enterprises, and the need did not seem pressing. Prairie schooners might be driven over the highest ridges, and emigrant parties followed the beaten track or deviated from it at their convenience. There were two great roads leading

to the Red River settlements and beyond, worn wide and plain by droves of cattle and horses, emigrant carts and freight wagons; but the costs of land carriage were prohibitive for agricultural produce, and the country west of the Mississippi was dependent, as still older communities were, on water transportation. The all-important avenues of trade and travel were the rivers — not only the Mississippi and the Missouri, but lesser streams such as the St. Francis, the Maramee, the Gasconnade, and the Osage — by which flatboat, raft, or dugout canoe might make its way to a market town or down the Mississippi to Natchez and New Orleans.[27] The people of Ste. Genevieve were eagerly anticipating the opening of a water route by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan with Detroit and Buffalo, and thence *via* the new Erie Canal with Utica and New York. The scheme seemed entirely practicable to Schoolcraft. "The river *Plein*, the main head fork of Illinois, approaches so near the head of Chicago River, which enters Lake Michigan at Fort Dearborn, that a communication exists in high water. I conversed with a trader last summer at St. Louis, who had come through in the spring, and afterward saw his boat lying at the wharf. It carried from 4 to 6 tons, and was built *skiff-fashion*, with a flat bottom. He represented the undertaking as easy of execution, not requiring an artificial cut of more than 2 miles, and this through an alluvial soil." [28]

The Mississippi was the great highway on which all traffic converged, and craft of every description,

from the rough home-made scows and dugouts to the flatboats and keels that held tons of merchandise, thronged the river front at every port from St. Louis to New Orleans. Various improvements were being made in the primitive models. "It is now common to see flatboats worked by a bucket wheel, and a horse power, after the fashion of steamboat movement. Indeed, every spring brings forth new contrivances of this sort, the result of the farmer's meditations over his winter's fire." [29]

Flint describes this traffic at New Madrid: "In one place there are boats loaded with planks from the pine forests of the southwest of New York.[30] In another quarter there are the Yankee notions of Ohio; from Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging, and bale rope; from Tennessee there are the same articles, together with great quantities of cotton; from Missouri and Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider, and what they call 'cider royal,' or cider that has been strengthened by boiling or freezing. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the West. They have come from regions thousands of miles apart. They have floated to a common point of union. The surfaces of the boats cover some acres. Dunghill fowls are fluttering over the roofs, as an in-

variable appendage. The chanticleer raises his piercing note. The swine utter their cries. The cattle low. The horses trample, as in their stables. There are boats fitted on purpose, and loaded entirely with turkeys, that, having little else to do, gobble most furiously. The hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries, and acquaintances, and form alliances to yield mutual assistance to each other, on their descent from this to New Orleans. . . . The fleet unites once more at Natchez, or New Orleans, and, although they live on the same river, they may perhaps never meet each other again on the earth."[31] Some of these flatboats were fitted up as dram-shops, others as dry goods stores, and in others mechanics plied their respective trades. "While I was at New Madrid," continues Flint, "a large tinner's establishment floated there in a boat. In it all the different articles of tin-ware were manufactured and sold by wholesale and retail." Aboard another boat "were manufactured axes, scythes, and all other iron tools of this description, and in it horses were shod. . . . It was a complete blacksmith's shop." The settlers naturally clung to the rivers where wood and water were to be had in abundance and where alone cheap transportation were available for surplus products.

The movement of population into the Far West was greatly accelerated by the substitution of steam for oar and *cordelle* on the river boats. The first steamer destined for use on western waters (the *New Orleans*) was built at Pittsburgh in 1809 by Nicholas Roosevelt at a cost of $38,000. The

cautious New Yorker did not risk his vessel to the vagaries of river navigation until he had first gone the whole length of the Ohio and Mississippi in a keel-boat. The trial trip was made in 1809 with complete success, but the steamer was unluckily burned as she lay at anchor by the wharf in New Orleans. Other steamboats were soon built, however, at the ship yards of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Cincinnati. The first voyage up-stream was made by the *Enterprise* in 1815, the distance of one thousand miles between New Orleans and Louisville being covered in twenty-five days. A barge manned by twenty to thirty hands could make but ten miles a day up-stream, whereas a steamer easily accomplished one hundred. The superior speed and security of the new motor once assured, lines of packet boats were established, and all who could afford a cash fare abandoned the slower craft. Timothy Flint estimated (1818) that the steamers had thrown ten thousand flatboats and keel-boats out of employment. Schoolcraft gives a list of the fifty steamboats that were running on the Mississippi and its tributaries in 1819 with a registered tonnage of 7306. Steamboats were then building that would raise the total number to sixty-three, — "two . . . at Pittsburgh, one at Wheeling, one at Steubenville, one at Marietta, two at Cincinnati, one at Frankford, two at Shippingport, one at Madison, and two at New Albany." Each boat made on the average three trips a year to and from New Orleans, loaded with freight and passengers. Freight charges from Pittsburgh to New Orleans were one cent a pound,

from New Orleans to Pittsburgh, four cents. Passenger rates down-stream were $60, up-stream, $100. Each boat carried on an average ten passengers down-stream and five up. On this basis, Schoolcraft reckoned the total annual revenue for freight and passengers at $2,405,700.[32] Wharves of the Ohio and Mississippi river towns were still lined with keel boats and barges, however, and much of the produce was carried to market in flat-bottomed boats, "of a temporary construction, which were not calculated to ascend the stream and were generally sold for a trifle or abandoned." [33]

In 1824 Congress appropriated $105,000 for the improvement of navigation on the Mississippi, and Captain Henry M. Shreve was placed in charge of the work. Under his skilful management, the snags and drifting trees, the "sawyers" and "planters," [34] the sand bars and sunken rocks, that had long been the dread of pilots, were removed, and arrangements were made for the systematic survey of the channel so that the annual accretions might be weeded out year by year. The tributary rivers, the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red, were dealt with in turn. The removal of the Great Raft from Red River doubled the stretch of navigable water, and the grateful people named their westernmost settlement Shreveport. Flagg describes [35] the operations of a machine invented by Captain Shreve which extracted snags at an average cost of $12 to $15 each, and which the river men irreverently dubbed "Uncle Sam's Tooth-puller."

The navigation of the upper Mississippi was more

difficult and less remunerative. The up-stream pull from Cairo to St. Louis was a serious addition to the cost of a voyage, but it was soon warranted by trade. The arrival of the first steamboat, the *General Pike* (1817), was regarded by the people of St. Louis as the opening of an era of commercial greatness. The corn and flour, salt pork and beef, produced by the Missouri farmers began to be shipped down the Mississippi by reliable traders, and the planters of the lower river abandoned the production of their own supplies and concentrated their working force on their most remunerative crop. Moreover, the transportation of emigrants was soon a considerable business. The steamer on which Flagg went to St. Louis stopped at "a desolate-looking spot up on the Missouri shore" in order to deposit a party of settlers, "men, women, and little ones, with slaves, household stuff, pots, kettles, dogs, implements of husbandry, and all the paraphernalia of the backwood's farm." [36]

The risks of navigation on the Missouri were even greater than those offered by the Mississippi. The frequent floods, the rapid shiftings of the bed, the cavings of the bank and the sudden formation of sand bars frequently upset the calculations of the most experienced pilot, and it was the universal custom to tie up for the night. The swiftness of the current and the weight of the silt-laden water made necessary more powerful engines and a higher expenditure for fuel than were required for the Ohio and Mississippi boats. A plucky little tug, the *Independence*, made the trip to Franklin and Chariton in May, 1819, and Long's vessel, the *Western Engineer*, making three

Difficulties of Navigation on the Missouri.

St. Louis in 1855.

miles an hour, succeeded in reaching Council Bluffs in the following month; but the transports built at St. Louis for the Yellowstone Expedition could not stem the current. For many years thereafter the only steamers seen on the upper Missouri were sent out by the American Fur Company. Chouteau's boat, the *Yellowstone*, ascended the Missouri to its junction with the Milk in 1831, and for fifteen years thereafter, until 1846, an annual trip was made for the purpose of carrying men and supplies to the various posts. For the transportation of furs and buffalo hides downstream, however, the reliance was still on the Mackinaw boat which, loaded to the gunwales, made one hundred miles a day and required a crew of only five men. Between St. Louis and Westport Landing, on the other hand, traffic grew heavy with the increase in westward migration. Five regular steamers were employed on this route in 1831, from fifteen to twenty in 1836, and twenty-six in 1842.

"St. Louis is a kind of central point in this immense valley. From this point, outfits are constantly making to the military posts, and to the remotest regions by the hunters for furs. Boats are also constantly ascending to the lead-mine districts on the upper Mississippi." [37] Along the water front lay craft destined for the Mandan villages, for Prairie du Chien and the Falls of St. Anthony, for the voyage up the Illinois and through the navigable swamp that divided it from the Chicago River and Lake Michigan. Others were bound to the south, — to Arkansas Post, to Natchez, and New Orleans. An Indian trail, worn into a wagon road, connected St. Louis

with Little Rock and Natchitoches. Another, the Osage Trace, led southwest to the trading post on the Verdigris and along the Poteau River to the Kiamichi settlements. The population of St. Louis had increased slowly during the War of 1812, but thereafter it grew apace and mounted to four thousand in 1820 and to six thousand in 1830. The people were still largely foreign, and men were yet living who had felled the trees for the building of Laclede's fort. The leading merchants bore old French names, — Chouteau, Sarpy, Pratte, Menard, Sulard, — while Manuel Lisa was of Spanish origin. The French quarter lay to the south and was described by Flagg as "a right Rip Van Winkle-looking region, where each little steep-roofed cottage yet presents its broad piazza, and the cozey settee before the door beneath the tree shade, with the fleshy old burghers soberly luxuriating on an evening pipe, their dark-eyed, brunette daughters at their side." [38] Every house, whether the "steep-roofed stone cottage of the Frenchman or the tall stuccoed dwelling of the don," stood alone in the center of a garden which was often surrounded by a stout palisade, a necessary precaution against Indian forays. The "venerable mansions" of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau were surrounded by "lofty walls of masonry, with loop-holes and watch towers for defense." The residences of the well-to-do Americans, such as that of General William Ashley, stood on the high bluff overlooking the river, while the shops and warehouses were ranged along the water front at its foot, where two narrow streets running parallel with the river served as wharf and highway combined. The

preëminent commercial advantage of this site was a limestone ledge that extended for several miles above and below the town and formed a stable shore, much to be preferred to the muddy and caving banks characteristic of the Missouri and the lower Mississippi. Manufactures, too, were being undertaken where the produce of the farm might be converted into marketable form. In 1819 the place had one brewery, two distilleries, two water-mills, one steam flouring mill, and a grist-mill propelled by ox-power.

The population of Missouri in 1810 was but twenty thousand. By 1820, it had reached sixty-six thousand. The rapidly growing territory had great ambitions and a movement was organized to elevate the northern half (excluding Arkansas) to statehood. It was the first of the new commonwealths to be created west of the Mississippi, and the question of slavery, — settled for the Northwest, Southwest, and Mississippi territories by a series of congressional ordinances, — was raised anew. There were by this time ten thousand slaves in Missouri. Many of the plantations and mines were worked by slaves, and there were among them skilled artisans, blacksmiths and carpenters, whose services were extremely valuable to their masters and to the community. It was believed that the resources of the country could not be developed without slave labor. New England and the Northern states were keenly alive to the significance of the issue, and the question was bitterly debated in both houses of Congress. An attempt made by representatives of the Northern states to amend the motion for admission (introduced into the House of Representatives, Feb-

ruary, 1819) by the proviso that no more slaves be admitted and that all children thereafter born in the new state be set free at the age of twenty-five years, was defeated; but a compromise was reached in the enactment that slavery would henceforth be prohibited in Louisiana Territory north of the thirty-sixth parallel. The proclivity of emigrants from the slave-holding states for the rich bottom-lands of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers was thus confirmed. In the seaboard and Gulf states the number of slaves was increasing, and the productive power of the soil was declining. The younger and more enterprising planters were eager to recoup their fortunes in the new lands beyond the Mississippi.

Iowa

Meantime, the land of the Kiowas was attracting attention in the Northern states. The trend of American migration from east to west has always followed parallels of latitude. The denizens of the Atlantic states and of the commonwealths west of the Appalachians, seeking new homes, choose a climate to which they are accustomed and try to locate their farms where they can raise the crops with which they are familiar. In the estimation of men from New England, New York, and Ohio, the exclusion of slavery from the territory north of the thirty-sixth parallel gave additional value to this region. Emigration to the northwest was forwarded, moreover, by the opening up of the trans-Alleghany routes,—the Erie Canal, the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railway, the Baltimore and Ohio Canal, and the

National Post Road. Local enterprise was not slow to supplement these great highways and facilitate access to Iowa. There were ferries across the Mississippi at Dubuque, Buffalo, and Burlington, and a regular steamboat line was established (1825) which carried passengers up the river as far as Fort Snelling. In the early twenties there was a rush for the lead mines, and claims were taken up and profitably worked before the Indian titles were quieted or the land opened for settlement. The pioneers soon discovered that the fat, alluvial soils of the interior were even more productive than the mines, and squatters began cultivation before land offices were provided. To the frontier farmer, the toilsome task of breaking the sod was sufficient evidence of title, and he was outraged when the tract was sold at auction to some speculator from the East, who thus paid the government for the value of the improvements. Claims associations were organized for the purpose of adjudicating boundaries and titles among the actual farmers and for beating off alien bidders by combination, force, or fraud. Thus a rough justice was attained in defiance of law. Iowa Territory was organized in 1838 and statehood was granted in 1846.

The westward movement had been augmented by the hard times that prevailed in the eastern cities in 1833 and 1834. Workmen and operatives thrown out of employment by the curtailment of industry, turned to the unclaimed lands beyond the Mississippi as an opportunity not only to earn a livelihood but to attain the independence that was the dream of every American citizen. Canal boats, lake steamers,

and river steamers were crowded, while thousands of the more impecunious families made their way on foot or on horseback, in carts or prairie schooners, along post-road and trail, to the land of freedom and plenty. Allured by tales sent back by the pioneers or by the prospectuses distributed by speculators, they undertook the journey with the strong conviction that fortune lay before them, but with small comprehension of the risks and hardships of the new life.

The whole movement was speculative. The emigrants brought little with them but hope and energy and the American's capacity for adaptation. The land companies were engaged in a credit operation of ticklish proportions, expecting to make good their obligations out of the revenue from sales. The steamship companies, the merchants, wholesale and retail, the innkeepers along the routes, were all doing business on borrowed money, for there was limitless credit for any man who had a plausible scheme in his head. The "coon box" banks, organized after the termination of the second National Bank, were issuing money with small concern for redemption and were eager to loan on land security, even though that land was entirely undeveloped. The Specie Circular, requiring that payments at the United States land offices should be made in legal tender, suddenly pricked this overblown bubble of credit financiering, and a thousand prosperous enterprises collapsed in a night. Farmers were unable to sell their produce even at falling prices and so had no money with which to pay the installments of principal and interest;

land companies were ruined, for the mortgaged lands that came back into their possession had no commercial value; bankers closed their doors, and merchants, unable longer to get goods on credit from their eastern correspondents, were fain to do likewise. Hundreds of mushroom towns were abandoned, and the transportation projects that had seemed so feasible in the boom times before the panic, were involved in the general calamity.

Thomas H. Benton

The dominant figure in Missouri and an influential factor in the destiny of the Far West for the critical decades from 1820 to 1850 was Thomas H. Benton, the eloquent statesman who served during this period as representative of Missouri in the United States Senate. Benton was born in the "back country" of North Carolina, but his mother came of good Virginia stock and was a woman of sufficient intellectual capacity to direct her son's reading and to shield him from whiskey and cards, the demoralizing amusements of the frontier. In 1800, when the boy was but eight years old, this heroic mother moved her little family to a tract of land in western Tennessee, later known as Widow Benton's Settlement, where, with the aid of her slaves and this trusty son, she put up cabins and barns, a school and a church, laid roads, built bridges, and cleared the land for the growing of cotton. Here the boy grew to manhood, on familiar terms with Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, and other ambitious spirits of the pioneer state. Faith in the great destinies of the West was the fundamen-

tal article of their political creed. In 1815 young Benton opened a law office in St. Louis and quickly acquired a large practice among the creole population, whose land grants, authorized by French and Spanish governors, were being challenged by American squatters. Elected to the United States Senate in 1821, he immediately withdrew from this practice, stating that his relations with the Federal government might prejudice the land office in his favor.

For the next thirty years, Senator Benton used his great and growing influence for the development of the West. A visit to Jefferson at Montecello rendered him a champion of the transcontinental trade route, and his intercourse with General Clark and the trappers and traders of St. Louis gave him unusual knowledge of the resources of Missouri Territory. Benton was a thoroughgoing expansionist, ardently concerned for the annexation of Texas, the assertion of our claims to Oregon, and the acquisition of California; but he was no less insistent on the development of transportation facilities and the promotion of the interests of the traders and farmers who were laying the foundations of future prosperity. Early associated in a legal way with Astor and the St. Louis traders, he was ever the firm friend of the fur companies, and put forth every effort to bring about the abolition of the government factories. Benton thus narrates the part he played in that controversy: "As a citizen of a frontier State, I had seen the working of the system — seen its inside working, and knew its operation to be entirely contrary to the benevolent designs of its projectors."

These views had been communicated to the Secretary of War in 1820, "but he [Calhoun] had too good an opinion of the superintendent . . . to believe that any thing was wrong in the business, and refused his countenance to my proposition. Confident that I was right, I determined to bring the question before the Senate — did so — brought in a bill to abolish the factories, and throw open the fur trade to individual enterprise, and supported the bill with all the facts and reasons of which I was master." [39] No less energetic and decisive was his campaign for the acquisition of the Indian lands, of which fifteen and a half million acres lay within the state of Arkansas and two and three quarters millions in Missouri. Treaties negotiated with the Kansas and Osage tribes by General Clark in 1825 and ratified by the Senate the following year, ceded all the territory between the Missouri and the Rockies, with the exception of certain carefully defined reservations. Benton indignantly denounced the charge that the government had not dealt fairly by its Indian wards, citing in evidence the various land purchases to prove that in the first fifty years of its existence the United States had paid $85,000,000 for tribal lands, to say nothing of its expenditures in the way of education, etc.[40] His personal knowledge of the vexations and hardships consequent on the uncertainties of Spanish grants led him to advocate that the cases still pending be referred to a Federal commission. Such a commission was appointed for Missouri in 1832, evidence as to basis of the several claims was taken and titles verified. The findings of the commission were later

affirmed by Congress, and the many tedious and costly suits were brought to a sudden termination.

The government policy as to the public lands was the object of persistent criticism in the new states west of the Mississippi, and Benton succeeded, by dint of persistent and unwearying effort, in securing some highly important modifications. The system of credit sales was abandoned in 1821, and the price per acre was reduced from $2 to $1.25; but the practice of offering the land at auction was still maintained, with the result that men with ready money secured the more desirable tracts, and squatters were often ousted from holdings to which their labor had given augmented value. Mineral lands and salines were not put upon the market, but leased to the developing companies, who paid a royalty on their output and charged a compensating price to the consumer. Benton was the consistent foe of monopoly whether exercised by the private speculator or a Federal agent, and he did not hesitate to attack this revenue-producing policy as prejudicial to settlement and development. Familiar with the headright by which any citizen of North Carolina might obtain six hundred and forty acres of Tennessee land on condition of clearing and planting it, at the nominal price of ten cents an acre, Benton advocated that the Federal government adopt an equally generous policy. He brought in bill after bill in behalf of a more democratic land system, and his efforts met with a considerable measure of success. The saline lands were put upon the market in 1828, the lead and iron deposits in 1846, and the preëmption right was

guaranteed to all actual occupiers of government land in 1841. But "the two repulsive features of the federal land system [remained.], — sales to the highest bidder and donations to no one — with an arbitrary minimum price . . . of one dollar twenty-five cents per acre." [41] Benton continued to the end of his public career to urge upon the Senate the advantages of a more generous policy, the reduction of the price to seventy-five cents and $1 an acre, and free grants to actual and destitute settlers.

Senator Benton's campaign against the salt monopolies created by the Federal leases had been early crowned with success, but his attempts to remove the import duty of twenty cents a bushel levied on the salt imported from Portugal and the West Indies were less fortunate. Missouri as a large producer of salt may be supposed to have profited by the tax, but Senator Benton thought the interests of the consumer more important. He argued that the domestic product was inferior in quality and high in price and unsuitable for curing beef and pork for exportation. The prosperity of a great industry was at stake. The farmers who supplied beef, pork, bacon, butter, and cheese to the mines of Missouri and the upper Mississippi, to the plantations of the lower river, to the Army and Navy, and to the Indian reservations, must have the sun-evaporated salt at a reasonable price, or cease production. The West India trade was also in jeopardy, for salt provisions made up a considerable part of the outgoing cargoes. Given free trade in salt, and "the levee at New Orleans would be covered — the warehouses would be crammed with salt;

the barter trade would become extensive and universal, a bushel of corn, or of potatoes, a few pounds of butter, or a few pounds of beef or pork, would purchase a sack of salt; the steamboats would bring it up for a trifle [17 cents per bushel]; and all the upper States of the Great Valley, where salt is so scarce, so dear, and so indispensable for rearing stock and curing provisions, in addition to all its obvious uses, would be cheaply and abundantly supplied with that article."[42] The advocates of protection were stronger and more influential than any influence the consumer could bring to bear, however, and Benton succeeded only in removing the duty on solar (alum) salt.

As to slavery, Benton, a Southerner born and bred, was wholly in sympathy with the compromise of 1820. He was not a member of the convention that drew up the state constitution; but he states in the *Thirty Years' View*[43] that he was the "instigator" of the clause which sanctioned slaveholding and forbade the legislature to interfere with the practice. He was "equally opposed to slavery agitation and to slavery extension," but he fully indorsed the right of citizens to avail themselves of this form of labor, and he believed the recognition of this principle important "for the sake of peace."

CHAPTER III

THE SANTA FÉ TRADE

A ROUNDABOUT and hazardous commerce had been carried on with the Spanish provinces by way of Taos, the old-time market to which the Apache Indians brought their furs. An Indian trader named Purcell (Pursley of Pike's *Journal*) had been led by the Pawnees up the Platte River and across the divide to this rendezvous of the mountain tribes. His success induced William Morrison, an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskia (later a member of the Missouri Fur Company), to despatch a creole, La Lande, with a small consignment of goods to Taos in 1804. La Lande did not return, and Pike was commissioned to ascertain his fate. He found the faithless agent at Santa Fé, only too well content with the treatment accorded him. The authorities had given him a grant of land and a business opening, for the purpose of preventing his carrying back to his patron information that might lead to similar expeditions. The publication of Pike's *Journal* (1806) and his *Dissertation on Louisiana* (1808) attracted attention to the rich resources of New Spain and the ease with which Santa Fé could be reached *via* the Arkansas River. Hidalgo's insurrection, moreover, gave reason to hope that the exclusive commercial policy enforced by the Spanish authorities might give way as soon as the creole population came into power. With the

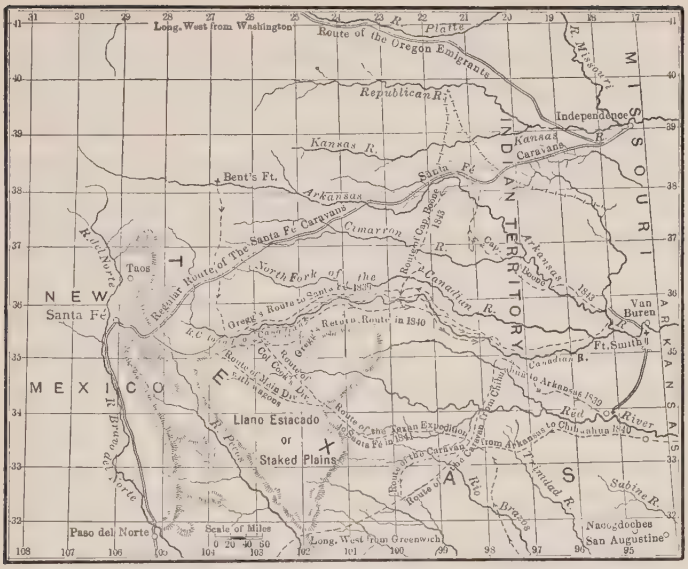
purpose of being first on the ground, a party of traders, McKnight, Chambers, and Beard, set out in 1812, following Pike's route to Taos; but the venture proved ill-timed. The *insurrectos* suffered defeat, and the suspicion attaching to American interlopers was only augmented. The unlucky traders were seized as spies, their goods confiscated, and the men, some dozen in number, incarcerated at Chihuahua. There they remained until the revolution of 1821 opened the prison doors. Meantime, A. P. Chouteau and Julius De Munn of St. Louis organized a trapping expedition that led them beyond the mountain boundary to the sources of the Arkansas and of the Rio Grande. Their attempt to secure a license from the *commandante* at Santa Fé failed, and they were arrested and thrown into prison, while the furs gathered in two years' hard work on both sides the boundary were confiscated. Chouteau addressed an indignant protest to the Department of State and had sufficient influence at Washington to secure compensation to the amount of $30,000. Daniel Meriwether, who had a similar experience in 1819, was less fortunate in the outcome.

In the autumn of 1821, an Indian trader named Hugh Glenn set out from his post on the Verdigris River with a cargo of goods for Santa Fé. The journal of the expedition was kept by Jacob Fowler, a Kentucky planter with a taste for adventure, who had gathered a party of twenty hunters to trap beaver in the Rocky Mountains, and was glad to join forces with the trader. They carried no provisions but salt, expecting to live on buffalo and

antelope, together with the corn, beans, and dried pumpkins purchased of the Osage Indians. The cavalcade of horses and mules followed an Indian road up the Arkansas, coming occasionally upon signs of other trapping or trading parties, until the Spanish peaks rose above the horizon. There, near the Chico River, they found a great Indian encampment — Arapahoes, Snakes, Comanches, and Kiowas — an extraordinary concourse of twenty thousand people, lodged in four hundred tepees and consuming one hundred buffalo per day. Chances for trade were very poor, however, for the assembled tribes could offer nothing but buffalo robes, horses, and some twenty beaver skins (Fowler complains that these nomad tribes showed no capacity whatever for trapping game) and there was serious risk of losing the goods by theft or violence. The appearance of a party of Spanish traders gave Glenn the opportunity he sought of finding his way to Santa Fé. Fowler and his men built a blockhouse on Fountain qui Bouille, the spot Pike had fixed upon for a winter camp fifteen years before, and from that point of vantage trapped the mountain streams, collecting several packs of beaver. In January came a messenger from Colonel Glenn with the good news that he had been well received at Santa Fé, that Mexico had declared independence of the mother country and was eager for trade with the people of the United States, and, farther, that permission had been granted Fowler to trap in the valley of the Rio Grande. Nothing loath, he crossed the mountains to Taos, following Pike's route, and camped on the Canejos only a few miles below that

explorer's unlucky fort. Three months' sojourn proved highly remunerative to both trapper and trader, and they had the satisfaction of recovering McKnight and his men. On May 12, 1822, the snow being gone and the horses fattened on the spring grass, the Americans set out for home, recrossing the Sangre de Cristo by Taos Pass. Steering directly east, "like a ship without a rudder" (*sic*), they crossed the Cimarron Desert, a desolate plain where there was no fuel but buffalo dung and where the only water was had by digging holes in the sand. "We are now In the oppen World not a tree, Bush or Hill of any kind to be Seen for When you take the Eye off the ground you See nothing but the Blue Horezon." [1]

Another expedition of even greater importance was made in 1821. William Becknell, of Boone's Lick, equipped a pack train and made his way *via* Taos to Santa Fé, where he was able to sell his American calicoes at $2 and $3 per *vara*, the price commanded by goods imported through Vera Cruz. The duties imposed at United States ports were comparatively low, the carriage from St. Louis was but two-thirds that from the Mexican port, and the consequent margin of profit was such as to attract other merchants to this new field. In 1822, the independence of Mexico being assured, Becknell repeated his venture on a larger scale, taking $5000 worth of goods in loaded wagons. Turning south from the Great Bend of the Arkansas, he undertook to cross the Cimarron Desert, having small comprehension of its terrors. The party nearly perished with thirst, and he was



The Santa Fé Trail and other Routes across the Great Plains.

forced to return. This same year Benjamin Cooper, with his nephew, Braxton Cooper from Le Mine River, conducted a pack train from Franklin by the Taos route, got safely through, and realized so high a profit on the investment that he ventured again in 1823 and brought back four hundred mules and a large quantity of furs. The year following, Colonel Marmaduke, Bernard Pratte, Augustus Storrs, and some eighty other traders joined forces and transported from $25,000 to $30,000 worth of goods over the prairie to the Great Bend and thence across the dreaded desert directly to Santa Fé. Wheeled vehicles were employed — stout road wagons, carts, and dearborns — besides a long train of pack mules, and the open plains proved easy travelling, water suffi-

cient for the arid intervals being carried in the wagons. The returns from this coöperative enterprise were very flattering, — $180,000 in specie and $10,000 in furs.

No legislative achievement of Senator Benton was more highly appreciated by his fellow-townsmen than the Federal appropriation for the survey of a road from Franklin to Santa Fé. The bill was introduced in the session of 1824–1825, evidence being brought to show that a profitable trade might be developed if the transportation of goods across the seven hundred miles of plain and desert were rendered safe. Benton submitted a report from Augustus Storrs, the Vermont Yankee, who had sold his cargo of cotton goods for $190,000 worth of silver, furs, and mules, and was very enthusiastic about the commercial opportunity. Congress appropriated $10,000 for the survey and $20,000 more for the purpose of purchasing the right of transit from the Indians. A Federal commission faithfully carried out this double task. The usual route as far as the Great Bend was marked by mounds of earth, but thence the surveyors followed the Arkansas to Taos as the safer way. The traders, however, preferred the short cut across the desert in spite of its risks. This part of the trail was undefined until 1834, when the caravan, crossing after a heavy rain, cut deep ruts in the sand, and thereafter the wagon track was plain enough.

The chief danger of this route was from the thieving bands of nomad Indians to whom the horses and ammunition were an irresistible lure, and many a

desperate encounter marked the path across the Cimarron Desert. The offenders might be Pawnees, Comanches, or Arapahoes, but the traders did not attempt to distinguish between them. They regarded all Indians as natural enemies, and visited punishment for the outrages inflicted by one tribe upon the first inferior band they encountered, regardless of actual responsibility. Such a practice bred a fierce hostility between the white man and the red, and the friendly relations established by Pike, Chouteau and Lisa gave way to endless retaliations and finally to a war of extermination.

The Pawnee and Osage Indians, in a treaty negotiated at Council Grove (1825), undertook not to molest the caravans in consideration of $800 worth of goods tendered them by the commissioners; but the Comanches were less tractable. For years they infested the trail, ever ready to swoop down upon an unprotected wagon or to attack small groups of hunters who had been obliged to leave the caravan in pursuit of buffalo. Gregg tells the story of the disaster that cost the life of Jedidiah Smith (1829), "one of the most undaunted spirits that ever traversed the Rocky Mountains." "Capt. Smith and his companions were new beginners in the Santa Fé trade, but being veteran pioneers of the Rocky Mountains, they concluded they could go anywhere; and imprudently set out without a single person in their company at all competent to guide them on the route. They had some twenty-odd wagons, and about eighty men. There being a plain track to the Arkansas River, they did very well thus far;

but from thence to the Cimarron, not a single trail was to be found, save the innumerable buffalo paths, with which these plains are furrowed, and which are exceedingly perplexing to the bewildered traveller." [2] For days the party wandered about the Cimarron Desert looking for water. Smith, who took the lead, came at last upon the river only to find it dry, but his long experience taught him that there might be water beneath the sand. He scooped out a hole and was rejoiced to see the underflow trickling in. He had stooped to drink when a wandering band of Comanches came upon him and struck him down. He was discovered by his men lying upon his face, quite dead, but the water he had found saved the lives of the party. J. J. Warner, who met Smith at St. Louis as he was setting out on this fatal adventure, describes him as "a well-bred and intelligent gentleman," who endeavored to repress the ardor of the novice in the fur trade by telling him that in going into the Rocky Mountains his chances were better for finding death than fortune, and that the probabilities were that he would be ruined for anything but such pursuits as suited the "passions of a semi-savage." Smith said that "he had spent about eight years in the mountains and should not return to them." Warner went on, none the less, to Santa Fé and to California.[3]

For twenty years (1825–1845) the Santa Fé Expedition was an annual event of the first magnitude to the business men of St. Louis. Franklin was the outfitting station until that prosperous town was washed into the Missouri, and for several

years thereafter Independence served as the point of departure. When steamers became the regular means of transportation from St. Louis, the superior wharfage facilities at Westport Landing drew all the river trade to that town. The start was made in April, when grass was fresh and water abundant. The several parties scattered over the prairie, each leader making his own choice as to direction and place of encampment, but all came together on an appointed day at Council Grove, ten days' journey from the Missouri, in order to organize for mutual defence through the region where Comanches were to be feared. There a captain and four lieutenants were chosen, and the force was divided into companies of eight men each, for guard duty. Every night encampment was an impromptu barricade. The wagons were drawn up in a hollow square which served as a corral for the animals and a shelter behind which to fight in case of need. The men, rolled in Mackinaw blankets, slept on the ground under the carts, for there were no tents in the caravan. The camp fires were built outside the corral, and there the sentries paced their watches. The most serious risk was not to men or goods, but to the horses, which were greatly coveted by the nomad tribes and stolen whenever opportunity offered. A few riding horses were necessary for scouting purposes, but mules were preferred as draft animals because they were better able to endure the long marches and scant pasturage. These, in turn, were prone to sudden panic and were often stampeded by the rush of a buffalo herd or a thieving band of

Indians. Oxen were tried in 1830, and were used thereafter as much as mules. They were less afraid of crossing streams and stronger to drag a wagon out of a bog, but less enduring. On the other hand, these slow-footed animals were less likely to be lost or stolen and were allowed to run at large about the night encampment, whereas horses or mules must be staked out or hobbled.

The freight wagons were similar in design to the old-time conestogas, though of larger proportions. A cover of stout Osnaburg canvas was stretched over the top frame to keep off rain and dust. They were as scientifically packed as a pirogue, for there must be no displacements on the long, rough journey. So skilful were the men of the trail at this delicate business that cottons, silks, china, glass, and hardware reached Santa Fé in as sound condition as if the goods had been conveyed over the smoothest of eastern post roads. Flour, bacon, coffee, sugar, and salt were laid in, at the rate of one hundred and thirty-five pounds per man; but the main food reliance was the buffalo. A herd might be encountered soon after leaving Turkey Creek, and the hunt was a diversion in which every plainsman delighted. Fresh meat was abundant for the first week or two, and in this time of plenty a quantity was jerked for the portion of the trail that lay beyond the pasture belt. Here, too, wood and water must be provided sufficient to furnish the caravan for the sixty miles march to the Cimarron, a veritable *Jornado del Muerto*. Beyond the Arkansas, Indian ambuscades and night attacks were

always to be apprehended, and precautions were doubled. On three occasions (1829, 1834, 1843) the government sent a military escort, but United States troops might not cross the Arkansas where the greatest danger lay, and the cost of the expedition was out of all proportion to the benefit conferred. In 1834 the governor of New Mexico sent a force of cavalry to meet the caravan at the boundary, and the martial representatives of the two republics bivouacked on Chouteau's Island. For the most part, however, the traders were left to depend upon their own prowess and, being bred to the frontier, they were equal to most emergencies.

The journey of seven hundred miles was usually accomplished in five or six weeks, and men and animals were pretty well worn down when their goal was finally reached. For the citizens of Santa Fé the arrival of the caravan was the great event of the year. Not only did the traders bring the annual supply of goods from the states, but Americans were the most generous patrons of the cafés and places of amusement. There were important transactions to be conducted, not only by the local merchants, whose accumulated stock of furs and buffalo robes, wool, blankets, and mules was to be disposed of, but by the customs officials, whose charge it was to collect the import duties. The Spanish traditions of venality and double-dealing held with the Mexican régime, and the merchants well understood that certain gratuities would secure the abatement of the prescribed tariff. The duties amounted to sixty per cent *ad valorem*, but in actual adjustment the

trader usually got an abatement of one-third and the collector pocketed one-third, so that not more than one-third the legal charge found its way into the public treasury. American goods sold at double the original price; but fortunate was the trader who, after customs, expenses, and incidental losses were deducted, realized a profit of forty per cent. The ordinary profits ranged from ten to twenty per cent. The burdens and impositions with which the traffic was saddled by the authorities quite arbitrarily reduced the proceeds. In 1835 the governor of Chihuahua imposed a *contribucion de guerra* to keep the Apaches in check, requiring $25 from Americans and but $5 from natives. In 1839 Armijo exempted *hijos del pais* from the tax on storehouses, shops, etc., throwing the whole burden of the impost on foreigners and naturalized citizens. Thinking to secure farther revenue at the expense of the traders, this same governor levied a tax of $500 on each freight wagon; but the Americans minimized the charge by increasing the capacity of their wagons to two tons and a half and adding four draft animals to the eight previously necessary. Every deviation from the minutely prescribed routes, tariffs, and bills of lading was made a pretext for confiscation. "The trader can have three points of destination named in his *guia*, to either of which he may direct his course, but to no others, while in the drawing up of the *factura*, or invoice, the greatest care is requisite, as the slightest mistake, even an accidental slip of the pen, might, according to the terms of the law, subject the goods to confiscation." [4]

Mexican Arrieros with an Atajo of Pack-mules.

Arrival of the Caravan at Santa Fé.

On the return trip the loads were lighter, for specie and furs were less bulky in proportion to value than dry goods and hardware, and the mules and jackasses purchased in New Mexico travelled afoot. Fully half the wagons were sold to the Mexicans, and they brought four or five times their original cost; but the worn-out oxen were sacrificed at $10 a yoke. Not more than half the muleteers returned over the trail. Many died, broken down by the hardships of the journey or by the dissipations that ensnared them in the gay capital of New Mexico; many found their way back to the United States by way of Matamorras; still others settled for life in this land of opportunity. The neglected farm lands, mines, and commercial openings of the north Mexican states offered most attractive chances for investment, and the people were hospitable to strangers. There was an American colony at San Fernando de Taos and an American quarter in Santa Fé. In the second decade of the New Mexican trade, as the annual caravan attained larger proportions and the cargoes were increased, prices fell at Santa Fé, and there developed a glut of the market that made it expedient to carry the goods on to Chihuahua, Sonora, and even to California, in search of a profitable market. In 1830 EwingYoung, William Wolfskill, and J. J. Warner followed Escallante's trail from Taos across the mountains, and thence over the Mohave Desert to southern California.

The Santa Fé trade was never monopolized by large companies as was the fur trade of the Missouri.

The annual turnover of $130,000 represented the investments of some thirty different merchants, no man of whom contributed more than a dozen wagons to the train. Describing this trade in his *Memoir* of 1839, Nathaniel J. Wyeth states: "More than one-half these people are farmers and buy their goods on twelve months [credit] and often mortgage their farms and consequently are obliged to make returns the same year." The Santa Fé Trail meant to the men of Missouri what the Mississippi River meant to the settlers of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, — an outlet for their surplus products and an opportunity for their adventurous young men. To the people of New Mexico it meant cheaper goods than the merchants of Chihuahua could send them and the establishment of amicable relations with the American frontier. When Santa Anna, dreading lest these commercial relations might lead to political *rapprochement*, laid an embargo on the traffic in 1843, he forced the outraged people of Santa Fé to question whether their interests would not be promoted by annexation to the United States.

New Mexico

An outcome of the Santa Fé trade quite as important as its financial results was the information concerning the north Mexican states disseminated through the United States by some of the traders. Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*,[5] written by a man who had been ten years in the trade, was a conscious effort in this direction; but other men, less learned and not so well known, contributed to our knowledge

of the rich natural resources and political weakness of our southern neighbors. Jacob Fowler described the creoles as he saw them in 1821–1822 as a happy, hospitable, well-disposed people, whom the Comanches regarded with contempt. The Spanish traders were miserably equipped with goods, poor in quality and high in price. The peasants were in real destitution, bread and meat were scarce and dear because of a long drought and a plague of grasshoppers, and corn was selling at $10 a bushel, while a mule brought but $30 and the best running horse but $100. To describe the crudity of their living arrangements and their moral foibles would "r quire the pen of a Butler and the pencil of a Hogarth."

Even more extensive and graphic was the account of the northern provinces of Mexico given by J. O. Pattie, who with his father, Sylvester Pattie, went to Santa Fé with Bernard Pratte's caravan in the spring of 1824. The Patties had been pioneers for three generations, first in the "back country" of Virginia, again in Kentucky, where men of the name served under Benjamin Logan and George Rogers Clark, and then on the Missouri frontier, where the head of the house had defended Cap-au-Gris against a formidable Indian force. Sylvester Pattie was chosen commander of Pratte's outfit and had occasion to display his prowess in combats with Pawnees, Comanches, and grizzly bears. Arrived at Santa Fé, the Patties secured a permit to trap on the Gila River. Beaver were abundant, though the fur was not so fine as on more northern streams, and the take was a large one (two thousand skins), but

unfortunately their cache was rifled by the Indians, and the fruit of the winter's work lost. A new occupation was found when the proprietor of the Santa Rita copper mines, near the source of the Gila River, engaged the valiant Americans to defend his property against the Apaches, who were wont to pillage his supply trains and carry off the women, with small regard for the cautious Mexican garrisons. The elder Pattie remained here in charge of the mines; but the son, impelled by the *wanderlust* in his blood, undertook a second trapping expedition. He followed the Gila to the Colorado and, returning north of this *rio de los misterios*, found his way to South Pass, to the Big Horn, and the Yellowstone, and finally rode back across the Plains to Santa Fé, with a rich harvest of furs. The southern rivers had apparently never been hunted before, and Pattie's men frequently found a beaver in every trap set; but the streams of the upper Platte be reported "trapped out." Again the plucky adventurer was bereft of the profits of a winter's strenuous labor, this time by the governor of Santa Fé, who announced that the first year's license did not hold for the second and ruthlessly confiscated the furs. The young man then tried his luck in trade, going to Sonora and Chihuahua, and returning by way of El Paso. The *Journal* expresses profound contempt for the primitive processes of Mexican agriculture. The clumsy wooden plough is minutely described. "Their hoes, axes and other tools are equally indifferent; and they are precisely in such a predicament as might be expected of a people who have

Beaver Dam built of Cottonwood Branches filled in with Rushes and plastered with Mud.

Small Trees are used to support the Dam, hence its Irregular Shape.

no saw mills, no labor saving machinery, and do everything by dint of hard labor, and are withal very indolent and unenterprising." "This province [Sonora] would be among the richest of the Mexican country, if it were inhabited by an enlightened, enterprising and industrious people. Nothing can exceed the indolence of the actual inhabitants. The only point, in which I ever saw them display any activity, is in throwing the lasso, and in horsemanship. In this I judge, they surpass all other people. Their great business and common pursuit, is in noosing and taming wild horses and cattle." El Paso was even then "a nursery of the fruit trees, of almost all countries and climes" surrounded by "magnificent vineyards, . . . from which are made great quantities of delicious wine. The wheat fields were equally beautiful, and the wheat of a kind I never saw before, the stalks generally yielding two heads each. The land is exceedingly rich and its fertility increased by irrigation." The valley of the Pecos was "a rich and delightful plain," on which lay the deserted sheepfolds and horse pens where the *vaqueros* once kept their stock. They had been driven away by the Apache raids, and thus "one of the loveliest regions for farmers that I have ever seen" could not be utilized for settlement because these mountain bandits had never been subdued.[6]

Pattie's trading enterprises were successful, and he returned to Santa Rita with a well-lined purse. Sylvester Pattie, meantime, had secured a fine tract of land which he was cultivating to wheat and other food-stuffs, and was proposing to purchase supplies

in the United States. Better at fighting than at business, he had intrusted his affairs to a Mexican bookkeeper. This man was commissioned to go to St. Louis for goods, and the sum of $30,000 was put in his hands; but he decamped with the money. The owner of the mines, a Spaniard from Chihuahua (Pablo Guerra), was driven from the country by the decree of exile issued by the Mexican government in 1829, and the mines were sold at a heavy loss to McKnight of St. Louis and Curcier of Philadelphia. The new owners were soon driven off by the Apaches. The Patties, having lost all they had by the treachery of the bookkeeper, were forced to resort to the trapper's hazardous trade. Again they followed the Gila to the Colorado, trapping the region for the third time and loading their horses with furs. Unluckily they understood the Yumas to indicate that there were white settlements at the mouth of the Colorado and were beguiled into trusting themselves and their booty to boats. A brief experience of the tide-vexed current induced these landsmen to abandon the river, and, making shore on the west bank, they succeeded in crossing the Colorado Desert to San Diego. Echeandia, the governor, regarded the advent of these distressed Americans as wanton trespass and threw them into prison. There the elder Pattie died, and the son, having finally secured his freedom by serving as interpreter in an important business transaction, made the best of his opportunity to see California. Under a commission to vaccinate the neophytes, he proceeded up the coast, stopping at one mission after another and

renewing his contempt for the non-industrial ways of the *hijos del pais*. Repeated attempts to get possession of the furs cached on the Colorado failing, he made his way to the City of Mexico in the unreasonable hope of securing indemnity for his losses. On his way to Vera Cruz, the desperate adventurer was robbed of his little all by highwaymen, and only by the aid of fellow-travellers was he enabled to get back to Cincinnati. There this ruined but most interesting wanderer was discovered by Timothy Flint, the young and enterprising editor of the *Western Monthly*, and induced to write out his story. The *Journal* appeared in book form in 1831, and was read with avidity by all men interested in the future of the Southwest.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS

Benton strenuously opposed the treaty of 1819 by which the United States government paid Spain $5,000,000 for the Floridas and surrendered all claim to Texas.[1] He protested that the rich country beyond the Sabine had been given away, and he "wished to get it back whenever it could be done with peace and honor."[2] He deprecated the intrigues that threatened an embroglio with Mexico, but was ready to go to war with any European power for the sake of opening these fertile lands to American settlers. In 1827 a secret offer was made to the Mexican government, — $1,000,000 for the Rio Grande boundary or $500,000 for that of the Colorado; but the tender was rejected.

Meantime the dreaded Americans had succeeded in planting a colony in the very heart of the coveted territory. Moses Austin, the vigorous entrepreneur who had accumulated wealth in the lead mines of Missouri, now faced ruin. He had been deprived of his square league of land by the land commissioners of the United States, and the failure of the Bank of St. Louis (1818) had stripped him of his fortune. A man of indomitable fortitude, he determined to begin over again with an agricultural colony under Spanish auspices, and in 1819 he brought his project before the governor of Texas at San Antonio, having ridden

the eight hundred miles by the Natchitoches Trace and the Camino Real. The oath of allegiance taken twenty years before stood him in good stead with the authorities, and he had little difficulty in negotiating a floating grant of indefinite extent on condition of settling thereon three hundred families of good character and Catholic faith. Unhappily the hardships of the return journey broke the constitution of this heroic man, and he died in the year following. His son, Stephen Austin, then not thirty years of age, but already accustomed to heavy responsibilities, took up the task of colonization. He arrived at San Antonio just in time to learn of the declaration of independence, but succeeded in getting his grant confirmed by Iturbide, and located his lands between the Brazos and Colorado rivers, the old San Antonio Road, and the Coast.[3] The task of bringing in colonists of the right type was more serious. On condition that the land be brought under cultivation within two years, Austin offered to every adult male six hundred and forty acres, for his wife three hundred and twenty, for each child one hundred and sixty, and for every slave imported eighty acres. The nominal charge of twelve and a half cents an acre was barely sufficient to repay the expenses of survey and the transportation of emigrants and goods. Various untoward happenings balked the first two emigrations; the supply ships were wrecked, the Indians proved troublesome, and the settlers retreated to Louisiana. But adversity developed in Austin the qualities of a first-rate leader. His tact, courage, and

patience never failed, he overcame one obstacle after another, and after eight years of strenuous labor, he was able to turn over the government to a reliable body of colonists. Austin's settlers were men from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, of the best frontier type, energetic, honest, and enduring; but they had the pioneer's devotion to the rights of the individual. They took their obligations to the Catholic church lightly, refused to pay the acreage charge on their lands, brought in slaves in defiance of Mexican law (1827), and ordered their little commonwealth in thoroughly American fashion.

Emulous of Austin's achievement, other ambitious Americans, General Wilkinson among the number, were besieging the Mexican government for land grants, and it was deemed necessary to determine a permanent and uniform policy. The law of 1824 provided that grants might be made to *empressarios* in the proportion of fifteen *sitios* (a square league or four thousand four hundred acres) of pasture-land and five *labores* (two hundred acres) of irrigable land for each one hundred families (up to eight hundred) whom he should bring into the country. The families must be of good character and ready to accept the Catholic faith and Mexican allegiance. No grants to foreigners might be made within ten leagues of the coast or within twenty leagues of the boundary line.[4] Under these provisions, grants were made to various adventurers — Mexican, American, English, Scotch, and Irish — until the area so blocked out approached the present confines of the state. It is evident to-day that the arid

region of the Llano Estacado was impossible of cultivation and that the major part of these grants

Texas in 1840. Map of Land Grants.

could never be redeemed, but south of the San Antonio Road, settlement went on apace. The fame of San Felipe de Austin was spread abroad and the land-hungry looked to Texas as their goal. Two well-travelled roads brought this rich region within easy reach of Natchitoches and New Orleans, while a series of natural harbors rendered it easy of access from the sea. Americans gravitated to the Austin colony, Dewitt's colony, and to Edward's

enterprise at Nacogdoches, Irishmen to the tract along the Nueces River held by McMullin and McGloine, while Mexicans preferred *empressarios* of their own blood and sought De Leon's settlement at Victoria. By 1830, the population of Texas had grown to be more than twenty thousand — a figure that exceeded any reached under the Spanish régime — and the wisdom of peopling a land with men of calibre was amply vindicated.

But the Mexican government took alarm. There was grave reason to fear that this frontier would be preëmpted by Americans. In 1830 the Cortes forbade further colonization of a border state, cancelled all grants where the terms were unfulfilled, and summarily prohibited the importation of slaves. Futile efforts were made to introduce Mexican farmers, and convicts were sent in to work the roads with the privilege of becoming citizens and landowners as soon as their terms expired. The law of 1834, providing that would-be settlers from Mexico be transported to Texas at the expense of the state and supported for the initial year at the rate of four reals a day and that to each family be given farm implements, a yoke of oxen, and land to the amount of four hundred and forty-two acres [5] had no appreciable effect. In 1835 there were twenty thousand Americans and three thousand Mexicans in the province. It was quite impossible for the ephemeral governments that followed each other in rapid succession at the City of Mexico to enforce measures of repression in far-away Texas, and the restrictive legislation amounted to no more

than a helpless threat. When the decree (1829) declaring all children born of slaves on Mexican soil emancipated at the age of fourteen was protested by the Americans, on the ground that it would set free one thousand slaves, Guerrero exempted Texas from its operation.[6]

Under Austin's restraining influence, the Texans proceeded with some regard to their obligations toward the tumultuous republic to which they had sworn allegiance, until the Centralist revolution capped the climax of tyranny and misrule. Then they, in common with other Federalists, demanded a return to the constitution of 1824. Their grievances, as summarized by the convention of 1833, were religious intolerance, the exclusion of immigration from the United States, the perversion of land grants, the refusal of trial by jury and grants in aid of public education, the imposition of customs duties, and the excesses of the military. The protestants demanded a separate state government for Texas. Far from complying with this reasonable request, Santa Anna increased his garrisons and finally, San Antonio having been taken by the insurgent forces, marched to its relief. The massacre of the Alamo converted the movement for self-government into a war for independence. The issue could not long be doubtful. Santa Anna was far from his base of supplies and could not count on the support of the Mexican people, and his troops were largely convicts, serving under compulsion. The Texans, on the other hand, were fighting for their homes and the institutions which they held essential to liberty. They were

valiant, self-reliant, hardy frontiersmen, excellent marksmen and accustomed to Indian warfare. They were quickly reënforced by volunteer companies from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and Sam Houston, ex-governor of Tennessee and a protégé of President Jackson, was placed in command of their little force. In the battle of San Jacinto the Texans proved of what stuff they were made.

When Burr, an old man, broken in health and fortune, read the exploits of Sam Houston and his fellow-filibusters, he exclaimed, "There! You see? I was right! I was only thirty years too soon. What was treason in me thirty years ago is patriotism now!" [7]

Don Juan Almonte, the patriotic Mexican who made a tour of inspection through Texas in 1834, regarded this northernmost state as Mexico's most valuable possession, and he deplored the neglect that was leaving its colonization to foreigners. In soil, climate, and productive capacity, it had no equal among the federated states, and its commercial possibilities were unrivalled on the Gulf of Mexico. A series of first-rate harbors situated midway between Vera Cruz and New Orleans gave promise of abundant traffic, so soon as there were goods to export. Remoteness from the conflicts that were devastating the older states left the Texans at peace to pursue the cultivation of the land, the raising of cattle, the building of roads and towns; and their industrial enterprises far outran those of less favored sections of the Republic. The Spanish-speaking population

was only half what it had been in 1806, but the American settlements were flourishing. In the central department of Brazos there were ten thousand people, and in the Nacogdoches region ten thousand more. This was not due to the zeal of the *empressarios*. Most of the American immigrants had come on their own initiative and at their own cost from the adjoining sections of the United States, and they were lawless and intractable men who brought in slaves in defiance of the law of the land. It was of supreme importance that public-spirited Mexicans should undertake the peopling of this rich country. Almonte announced his intention of leading the way and declared his conviction that an eleven-league grant in Texas could be speedily transformed into a valuable estate. Soil and climate were admirably adapted to the growing of cotton, sugar, corn, tobacco, and wheat, while the natural pastures would feed great herds of cattle. Prices were low for the time being, because all products must be consumed at home; but experiments were being made in the navigation of the Sabine, the Brazos, and the Colorado, and transportation by sea-going vessels would soon be assured. Five thousand bales of cotton had already been sent to New Orleans and sold at ten cents a pound. Importations from the United States rendered domestic manufactures unprofitable, but two or three cotton-gins, a tannery, and the manufacture of shoes were already under way.

What might have been the result if the insurrection had not interfered with Almonte's colonization

project, it is impossible to say; but one thing is evident, Mexico could offer little better colonizing material in 1835 than in 1721.

Texas did not present an alluring prospect to the immigrant, by whichever route he entered it. If he came by steamer up the Red River to Natchitoches, the usual means of access from the western states, he must cross a stretch of pine barrens and clay hills; if he arrived by ship from New Orleans or New York, the coast appeared an uninviting waste of sand bars and shallow lagoons, and the lowlands beyond were wet and malarial. On the side of Mexico, the sterile and waterless tract between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River seemed impossible of settlement. Curiously enough, the ten-league strip forbidden to foreign *empressarios* by the law of 1824 was precisely the least desirable portion of Texas. The interior was a delectable country. A gently rolling plain drained by the half dozen rivers that flowed from the Llano Estacado to the Gulf, wooded in the eastern section and open prairie west of the Trinity, offered to the pioneer a wonderful combination of fertile soil, all-the-year-round pasturage, and down-stream transportation. The arid plains were covered with the mesquit-grass which grew low and thick and was self-curing. In the wetter regions, the indigenous growth was tall and coarse and ran up to a height of eight or nine feet, heavily seeded. In the river bottoms the cane-brakes grew rank and high, providing abundant fodder. So mild were the winters that there was nowhere need of stabling, even for horses, and water

and salt were always within reach. Hogs, too, might be allowed to run at large in confidence that they would fatten in due time on the native peanuts or the mast of the live-oak forests. It was a common saying among the pioneers that "in the North man lived for the beast, while in Texas the beast lived for man." According to the custom of the south United States, the cultivated fields were fenced in and the live stock was free to roam the open range. Only at the annual round-up did the ranchman take account of his property and brand the yearling calves.

Men of experience judged the prairies of Texas better farming country than Kentucky, for nine-tenths of the land was cultivable and the same crops could be grown, with sugar and cotton added. The settler from east of the Mississippi, accustomed to the exhausting labor of clearing the forest before ploughing could begin, who had often seen the better part of a man's life spent in reclaiming a few patches for cornfields which still remained encumbered by stumps and weeds and infected with malaria, rejoiced in the sunny open prairie where the soil seemed prepared by nature for the farmer's use. An English observer estimated the economic advantage of Texas land as follows: "A heavy plough and a strong team are required the first year, to break up the tough sward and turn over the soil. The Indian corn is dropped in the furrows and covered with a hoe, which with an occasional light ploughing to clear away the weeds, is the only labor bestowed upon it until it is fit to gather. . . . By

turning the grass down, exposing the roots to the sun, and leaving the soil undisturbed, the sward becomes mellowed in a single season, and while undergoing the process of decomposition, affords nourishment to the growing corn. In the ensuing spring, the roots of the wild grass are completely rotted, and the plough passes through a rich light mold fit for all the purposes of husbandry. . . . The superior facility of working open land, the saving in the wear of farm implements, the economy of time, and, of course, the greater degree of certainty in the farmer's calculations, with the comparative exemption from local disease, give a pre-eminence to the prairie over the timbered land not to be materially reduced by any inconvenience that may be occasioned by an inadequate supply of wood. It would be sounder economy for a farmer to settle in the midst of a prairie and draw his fuel and fence wood five miles, than to undertake the clearing of a farm in the forest. . . . Supposing the soil of both to be of equal quality, a laborer can cultivate two-thirds more of prairie than of timbered land; the returns are larger, and the capital to be invested less." [8]

The most serious handicap on the settler in Texas was the uncertainty as to land titles. The one *empresario* who had fulfilled the terms of his contract with the Mexican government was Stephen Austin, and therefore on his tracts only could clear title be given. Bradbury and Staples (the Rio Grande Company) had been assigned (1828) for fifteen years the exclusive privilege of putting steamers on the Rio

Grande on condition of colonizing the adjacent country; but the river was not navigable beyond Loredo and the region was adapted to nothing but pasturage, so the project failed. McMullen, who attempted an Irish colony at San Patricio, become involved in a scheme for diverting the water of the Rio Grande into the Nueces and was unable to meet his obligations. Dewitt died before he had brought in his full complement of people, and his title lapsed to the government. De Leon was equally unfortunate. Burnet and Zavalla apparently had no intention of colonization, but hastened to dispose of their claims to a New York company which, in turn, sold to would-be emigrants. These deluded mortals arrived on the Neches to find themselves possessed of nothing more than a squatter's claim. The revolutionary government added to the confusion by declaring all titles forfeit except for such men as had proved their loyalty to the American insurrection by service in the field, and later undertook to redeem its heavy obligations out of this one available asset. All soldiers were paid in land bounties, and land scrip was offered to the highest bidder whether resident or alien. Moreover, land donations were made in the form of head-rights of six hundred and forty acres to married men and three hundred and twenty acres to single men who could furnish evidence of three years' residence during the five critical years from 1836 to 1841, and a bonus of three thousand acres was proposed for every woman who married such a citizen. Land scrip as well as donations were in the nature of floating grants, and the effort to locate these was

attended with extraordinary difficulties, since no official system of survey and registration was as yet provided. Texas in the forties was the paradise of lawyers, as Kentucky and Tennessee had been fifty years before.

During the decade following on the attainment of independence, the Texans were hard bestead to maintain autonomy. Raids from Mexico, Indian forays on the northern border, and the prospect of interference on the part of France and Great Britain rendered the task trebly difficult. The embryo government was saddled with heavy obligations — the maintenance of an army and navy in addition to ordinary expenses — and the revenues were inevitably scanty. The population was wholly agricultural, and land, the only taxable property, had but low value. Foreign trade was slight and the prejudice against the levy of customs duties was strong. Such credit as the new-born state could rally in the United States and Europe was utilized to the breaking point. Bonds were issued, land scrip sold, and promissory notes offered in payment of debt, until such obligations depreciated to twenty cents on a dollar. In 1841 the total indebtedness amounted to $7,500,000, six times the total revenue, and there was no relief except in the drastic curtailment of expenses. The administration of government was at a standstill. There were no jails and no police, the postal service had collapsed, and only a handful of soldiers were available for the defence of the frontier. Certain enactments of the newly organized congress involved the state in prolonged embarrassments,

e.g. every head of a family locating in Texas was promised one *sitio* and one *labor* from the public domain, — a heedless generosity which attracted a horde of ne'er-do-weels and speculators and made heavy drafts on the one source of wealth.

The only salvation of Texas was in annexation to the United States, and for this issue of the long struggle, there was good prospect. To the slave states of the Union, Texas was an economic necessity. Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi had one after another been occupied by younger sons and surplus slaves from the seaboard states. Louisiana was already preëmpted, and the fat lands beyond the Sabine were regarded as the inevitable destiny of the slavocracy. Moreover, the great majority of the settlers in Texas were Southerners and slaveholders. Their declaration of independence was signed by fifty-six men, of whom three were Mexicans, five were from Northern states of the Union, and forty-eight from slaveholding states. The constitution adopted by this constituency was distinctly pro-slavery. *Vide* Section IX: "Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants of the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the Republic with them and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States, nor shall congress have power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slave holder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves without the consent of congress unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be

permitted to reside permanently in the Republic, without the consent of congress." This acceptance of slavery as a fundamental institution attracted favorable notice in the Southern states. The legislatures of Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee petitioned Congress for the annexation of Texas, while the statesmen of the seaboard states congratulated their constituents on the prospective rise in the price of their most profitable export. Eight Northern legislatures promptly protested annexation. Interest in the annexation project was disseminated by three land companies financed in New York, which, having secured concessions from certain *empressarios* who had been unable to colonize their grants, proceeded to sell these very dubious properties to all the gullible whom they could lay hands on. This land scrip was scattered throughout the Northern states and served to attach men who had purchased it to the annexation project, their best chance of getting their titles ratified.

John C. Calhoun, Tyler's secretary of state, succeeded in negotiating an annexation treaty with the government of Texas, but it was defeated in the Senate (thirty-five to sixteen). The resentment among pro-slavery men against this thwarting of their hopes ruined the Whig party in the South, while the out-and-out opponents of slavery organized the Liberty party. Conservative men, generally, dreaded the reopening of the slavery question, and feared that the addition of a territory south of the Missouri Compromise Line and large enough to form five states would overturn the balance of power on which the curtail-

ment of the slave system depended. The Democrats, however, declared for the "re-annexation of Texas," and their nominee, James K. Polk of Tennessee, was elected (1844) by a good majority of the electoral college, although the popular vote was quite evenly divided. With this apparent sanction of their policy, the annexationists abandoned the treaty and succeeded in carrying through both houses of Congress a joint resolution in favor of incorporating Texas into the Union.

PART IV

THE TRANSCONTINENTAL MIGRATION

CHAPTER I

ACQUISITION OF OREGON

SECTION I

The Traders

THE westward movement of population was checked at the farther confines of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa by the apparently sterile nature of the semi-arid plains and by the Indian reservations which the government had located in this confessedly hopeless region. But beyond the Rockies, on the far Pacific Coast, rumor reported a region of limitless and quite unexploited resources. The Oregon country had been discovered, explored, and even colonized by Americans, but with the loss of Astoria, the Columbia River and its possibilities had passed under control of the British fur companies, and the Boston ships and the St. Louis fur traders were treated as interlopers. The immense financial resources of the Hudson's Bay Company and its highly efficient organization enabled the chief factor to hold any Yankee competitor at bay.

Under the treaty of Joint Occupation, American traders had equal rights with the British in the Oregon country; but it was the policy of the Honorable Company to keep them east of the Blue Mountains. This was not a difficult task, since the British goods were of better quality than could be made in

the States and, since they paid no duty, might be sold at lower prices than the merchants from St. Louis could afford. Moreover, the costs and risks of overland transportation were far greater than by sea, so that, in their ventures on the Columbia and Snake rivers, the Americans were hopelessly handicapped. Even in the open territory of the upper Missouri and the Great Basin, the Hudson's Bay Company was able to compete on equal terms. Its factors did not hesitate to put up the price of furs to ten times the normal figure in order to drive out an American competitor. It was the custom of the Company to set aside an annual guarantee fund to make good these business emergencies.

The *Journals* of Lewis and Clark had been brought out in popular form by Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia in 1811; Patrick Gass' even more readable diary was published a year or two earlier. Both accounts of the wonderful transcontinental journey were widely read, and the possibilities of the Columbia as well as those of the Missouri became matters of common knowledge. A certain schoolmaster of Boston, Hall J. Kelley by name, whose interest in the Columbia region was first excited by the Lewis and Clark *Journals*, had been accumulating all the information to be found in the descriptions given by fur traders and travellers, and had arrived at the conviction that the opportunities there afforded for commerce, manufactures, and agriculture far exceeded those of the Mississippi Valley. He was fully assured that the American government had clear title to the territory — based on the discoveries of Gray and Ken-

drick — from the forty-second parallel to Puget Sound and Vancouver Island, and he therefore regarded the Hudson's Bay Company's assumption of trade monopoly as unwarranted and intolerable. The rights of the United States, he was persuaded, could best be made good by the actual occupation of the land by American citizens. To this end Kelley organized (1829) the American Society for the Settlement of Oregon Territory. The capital of the Company ($200,000) was to be subscribed in the first instance by public-spirited citizens, but each emigrant was expected to take one $100 share. It was anticipated that the government would lend aid to this national enterprise. Kelley's *Manual of the Oregon Expedition* was addressed "to all persons of good character who wish to emigrate to Oregon Territory." It set forth the unexcelled advantages of the lower Columbia; a remarkably even climate where cattle could be pastured in the open all the year round, a fertile soil requiring only to be ploughed and planted to yield better crops than New England had ever known, inexhaustible forests from which timber might be shipped to all parts of the world,[1] admirable transportation facilities afforded by the Columbia River, which was navigable two hundred miles from the sea, and by the many natural harbors adequate to the reception of sea-going vessels. The commerce of South America, the Pacific Isles, and the East Indies must eventually accrue to this favored territory. In a memorial addressed to Congress asking for "troops, artillery, military arms, and munitions of war, for the defence and security of the contem-

plated settlement," the Society urged as a reason for aggressive action on the part of the United States the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company was taking steps to colonize the country. "Already, have they, flourishing towns, strong fortifications, and cultivated farms." In order to forestall this alien occupation, the Society petitioned for a grant of power corresponding to those of the great trading company and the extinction of the Indian title to the Multnomah Valley lands. A republican form of government was in contemplation with freedom of the press, freedom of worship, etc.

Several hundred persons were ready to migrate to the land of promise, but the great expedition was delayed from time to time. The government was slow to act on Kelley's proposition and assert its rights of exclusive possession. The treaty of Joint Occupation was renewed in 1828, and no guarantee as to squatters' rights could be given. Moreover, the fur traders of St. Louis, who did not relish the prospect of having their hunting grounds preempted by farmers, threw various obstacles in the way, exaggerating the difficulties of the route, the hostility of the Indians, etc. In his *Manual of the Oregon Expedition*, Kelley quotes from the recent report of Mr. Pilcher, Indian agent, to the secretary of war to prove with what ease the journey across the mountains might be made by way of the South Pass and the Snake and Columbia rivers.[2] For the character of the Indians of the Pacific slope, Kelley had no fears. "They are fond of the Society of white men, and will long continue

to appreciate, and promptly to reciprocate honest and fair dealing. Nothing is more remote from the intentions of the Society than to oppress them, or to occupy their lands without making ample and satisfactory remuneration. . . . It is desired that each [Indian] head of a family receive a lot of land. That the Chinnook tribe be located on the back lots, in the seaport town, where they can be instructed, and encouraged in cultivating garden grounds, and where schools can be opened for their children," etc.

To each settler was to be assigned, after New England precedent, a town lot of forty acres and farm land to the amount of one hundred and sixty acres, with pasture rights in the public land in addition. This claim, guaranteed to every emigrant above fourteen years of age (except married women), was to be converted into a permanent title after two years' occupation. The point of departure was to be St. Louis. From that point, travelling expenses were to be met from the common stock, excepting arms, knapsacks, clothing and blankets, and wagons for the women and children. A deposit of $20 was required of every subscriber as a pledge of sincerity and guarantee of good conduct. Captains elected by each cohort of fifty were to have absolute authority *en route*. The plan was a good one, but the scale was too magnificent for that day of small things. It fell to pieces of its own weight. The date of departure was postponed from 1828 to 1830, from 1830 to 1832, and from January to June and July of the latter year. These delays were discouraging to

the more active and practical members of the society.

One of the men whom Kelley's propaganda had deeply impressed was Nathaniel J. Wyeth of Cambridge, a man of affairs who had already achieved an enviable reputation for business acumen as a pioneer in the ice business. His aspirations were, however, not political or social, but purely financial. He thought he saw in the unoccupied territory between the Columbia and the Spanish boundary an opportunity for developing a trade such as might eventually rival that of the Hudson's Bay Company itself. The success of the Boston houses that had sent trading ships to the northwest coast seemed to justify his hopes; the failure of Astor's enterprise he thought was purely accidental, due to over-confidence in British agents and the outbreak of war; the achievements of the St. Louis traders, handicapped as they were by a long overland carriage, argued larger profits for a post established within reach of the Pacific and possessed of an all-water route to New York and European markets. Wyeth meant to avail himself of Kelley's crusade and so applied for a "scituation" for himself and his brother Jacob in the expedition scheduled for January, 1832; but when the date of departure was deferred from month to month, and especially when he learned that it was proposed to burden the party with women and children, he became convinced that he must act independently of the Boston enthusiast. His project was explained at length to various business men of Boston, New York, and Baltimore whom

he hoped to induce to contribute capital. A party of picked men was to go overland to the Columbia, and there, at a post sufficiently remote from Fort Vancouver to give no umbrage to the Great Company, furs and salmon and such agricultural products as might prove feasible were to be gathered and stored. A Boston firm, Hall, Tucker & Williams, agreed to send a ship round the Horn stocked with goods for the Indian trade. It was expected that the bills for the goods, bought on a year's credit, would be paid out of the return cargo, and that a very considerable profit would be realized by all connected with the enterprise. Wyeth secured the $5000 needed to equip the overland party and succeeded in enlisting, under a five-year contract, thirty-two able-bodied and intelligent men. The organization was on a profit-sharing basis, familiar to the Gloucester fishermen. After the initial cost had been paid, the net proceeds were to be divided, eight parts to the promoter of the enterprise, two to his brother Jacob who was to act as surgeon and physician, and one part to each of the forty men who were to make up the full tale of the working force.

Wyeth took great pains to inform himself as to the conditions of success in the fur trade and the best methods of catching, pickling and smoking salmon, raising and curing tobacco, etc., and he spared no labor in perfecting the details of his equipment. The party left Boston in March, 1832, and journeyed to St. Louis by way of Pittsburgh and the Ohio River. The horseback journey across the Plains was made in company with Sublette's brigade;

but its hardships staggered two of the men (Jacob Wyeth and young Livermore), an encounter with the Blackfeet at the famous rendezvous of Pierre's Hole [3] disheartened the rest, and all but eleven turned back, taking their riding horses. Undiscouraged, Wyeth proceeded on his way, in company with Milton Sublette, and, aided by the friendly Shoshones, trapped the streams that empty into Snake River, and crossed the Blue Mountains to Fort Walla Walla, where his party was hospitably received. "At the post we saw a bull, cow & calf, hen & cock, pumpkins, potatoes, corn, all of which looked strange and unnatural and like a dream." At Fort Vancouver, Dr. McLoughlin was no less courteous, dispensing the hospitality of the place with an Old World courtesy very congenial to the wanderer from Cambridge. Here bad news awaited the promoter of American trade. The supply ship, *Sultana*, had been wrecked off Society Islands, and her cargo was a total loss, while the remaining men asked to be released from their engagement.[4] "I could not refuse. They had already suffered much, and our number was so small that the prospect of remuneration to them was very small. . . . They were good men and persevered as long as perseverance would do good. I am now afloat on the great sea of life without stay or support, but in good hands, *i.e.* myself and providence and a few of the H. B. Co. who are perfect gentlemen." [5] Nothing remained of the great enterprise but the furs cached in the interior, and the recovery of these was more than doubtful.

Fort Vancouver in 1846.

Wyeth had surrendered an honorable and lucrative position at home for this ambitious project on the Pacific Coast, and he now faced ruin; but pride and determination to wring success out of defeat, held him to his task. Valuable experience at least could be won from his unlucky plight, and with this in view he sought employment with the Hudson's Bay Company as an independent trader operating south of the Columbia. The proposition was forwarded to London and, biding an answer, Wyeth submitted to Captain Bonneville a plan for a joint hunt up the Willamette Valley and beyond the mountains as far as the Spanish settlements on San Francisco Bay. Having collected twelve men and thirty-four horses and pack mules, he set out for the rendezvous at Fort Bonneville on Green River, where he found the brigades of the American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company encamped in full force, together with Bonneville and Ferris and other independent trappers. Thence, in the autumn of 1833, the undiscouraged Yankee voyaged in a bull-boat down the Big Horn and the Yellowstone, stopping at Fort Cass and Fort Union to trade skins and robes for provisions, and so on to St. Louis and home.

In spite of the melancholy failures of the first expedition, Wyeth was able to find backers for a second. This time he hoped to meet the expenses of the overland party by taking out a stock of goods for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company whose chief, Milton Sublette, he had convinced that supplies might be had at much better figures than were

offered by the brother who had retired from the partnership. A new joint stock concern, the Columbia Fishing and Trading Company, was organized. Hall, Tucker & Williams again undertook to send a vessel round the Horn, and again a party of men was enlisted, but this time at St. Louis, where trappers and *engagés* of experience could be found. Wyeth had no need of guide or protection in his second journey across the Plains, for he was now *bourgeois* on his own account, and in his train travelled two distinguished scientists, Thomas Nuttall and J. K. Townsend. He reached the rendezvous on Ham's Fork in June, 1834, only to find that Milton Sublette had repudiated his contract. Wyeth's business sagacity did not desert him in this emergency. With characteristic energy he determined to turn his rejected goods and superfluous men to account by erecting a trading post on Snake River, hoping to trade with the Shoshones, Nez Perces, and Flatheads for buffalo robes. The post was erected at the point where the Port Neuf River joins the Snake, and was named Fort Hall after the senior partner in the Boston firm which was to reap no other gain from the expedition. Here twelve men were left with a hundred guns and rifles, while the main party pushed on to the Columbia.

Arrived at Fort Vancouver in October, the dauntless leader found to his chagrin that the *May Dacre* was only just coming up the river. The ship had been struck by lightning off Valparaiso and obliged to put in for repairs. The delay of three months had forfeited the salmon season, and the proposed

return cargo could not be prepared till the second summer. "We have failed in everything for the first year," Wyeth wrote home. "After so long an abstinence, I feel hungry for a little success." But there was no use in crying over spilt milk. The ship was loaded with timber from the magnificent pine forests of the neighborhood and despatched to the Sandwich Islands with instructions to bring back cattle, sheep, and hogs. Meantime, Wyeth set to work with redoubled energy to develop the resources of the region he had claimed for his own. He put up a fishing station on Wappatoo Island with kilns for smoking salmon and a rude garrison which he called Fort William. He explored the Willamette and fixed on a site for a farm, — a prairie three miles below Duporte's, "about fifteen miles long and seven wide, surrounded with fine timber and a good mill stream on it," — and two men were sent there with implements and seed for the first planting. The bulk of the force Wyeth led on a trapping expedition up Des Chutes River, a wild stream running through deep chasms and over precipitous rocks. The results of the winter's hunt did not compensate for the loss in men and equipment, however, and the leader returned broken in health and spirits. His experience in curing salmon was also discouraging. The Indians could not supply the fish fast enough for the smoking process, and his own men did little better. Only half a cargo was put up, and that of an inferior quality. Fort William made but a dreary residence. Most of the natives had died of the plague that had swept the length of the coast from

California northward several years previous, and the Americans suffered from various disorders due to dampness, overwork, and perhaps in some degree to infection. One-third the men were ill the greater part of the summer, and seventeen died violent deaths.

In the autumn of 1835 Wyeth went to Fort Hall with supplies, and again in the autumn of 1836; but the Hudson's Bay Company had built a trading post on the Boisé and their competition was too sharp for him. Concluding at last to abandon the field, he sold Fort Hall to the Great Company. He returned to the states by way of Santa Fé and the Arkansas River, and reached Boston in November of 1836, hoping to secure capital for a new venture on the Columbia; but the financial situation was not promising. The few men who had money to spare were unwilling to jeopardize it on so dubious a venture. Fortunately, his former employer in the ice business was eager to reinstate him, and Wyeth was able to pay all his debts and accumulate a competence before his death.[6]

The projector of the Columbia Fishing and Trading Company accomplished little for the furtherance of American trade in Oregon and nothing for emigration. His lukewarmness in this latter respect, it must be conceded, was due to a juster appreciation of the risks and hardships involved than the enthusiasts of the Oregon Colonization Society possessed. In a letter written to Hall J. Kelley in April of 1832, Wyeth said: "I shall at all times be disposed to further an emigration to the Columbia as far as I

deem, on actual knowledge of the country, that it will be for the advantage of the emigrants, but before I am better acquainted with the facts, I will not lend my aid in inducing ignorant persons to render their situation worse rather than better." Four years' experience of the hazards of the Far West must have reënforced his opinion that it was "impracticable and inhuman" to involve women and children in such an enterprise.

On both his visits to Fort Vancouver, Wyeth was received with perfect courtesy and given the freedom of the quarters; but he was allowed to learn none of the secrets of the trade and was definitely informed that his efforts to establish relations with the Indians would be effectively checkmated. In his *Memoir* submitted to Congress in 1839, Wyeth recognized the courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company's agents while writhing under the sense of obligation to victorious rivals. "In their personal intercourse with Americans who come into the country, they are uniformly hospitable and kind. The circumstances under which we meet them are mortifying in the extreme, making us too often but the recipients of the bounty of others, instead of occupants to administer it, as should be the case. No one who has visited their posts, I presume, can say anything to dispraise his reception; for myself, setting matters of trade aside, I have received the most kind and considerate attention from them."

Americans who came by sea were no more successful. Only seven trading vessels flying the Stars and Stripes ventured across the Bar in the years between

1814 and 1842: the *Oahee* and *Convoy* from Boston in 1829, the *May Dacre* and the *Europa* in 1834, the *Thomas Perkins* in 1840, the *Maryland* in 1841, and the *Chemanes* in 1842. Their efforts to open a trade with the natives were uniformly unfortunate; the Indians were readily induced by the offer of better bargains and by appeals to their loyalty to let the "Bostons" alone. Kelley states that when the *Europa* from Boston came into the river to trade in 1834, Dr. McLoughlin immediately fitted out the *Llama* with an attractive cargo and instructions to follow the American vessel and undersell her goods, no matter at what prices, until she was driven from the coast. This trade ostracism was not wholly due to commercial reasons. Dr. McLoughlin had cause to fear the demoralizing influence of his irresponsible rivals. Wyeth brought in distilling apparatus on his second expedition to the Columbia; but he had the grace to respect the protest of the chief factor and abandon his purpose of manufacturing whiskey. The *Thomas Perkins* had large quantities of liquor aboard. Dr. McLoughlin bought up the whole stock and stored it at the Fort to prevent its getting into the hands of the natives, "as this was an article which, after a great deal of difficulty, we had been able to suppress in the trade." [7] The influence of the Americans was no less demoralizing to the tribes of the interior. There were from five to six hundred free trappers in the Snake River country, and the unscrupulous competition of rival parties was rapidly destroying the Indian's respect for the white man.

Meantime the apostle of the attractive gospel, Oregon for Americans, had been engrossed in his colonization enterprise. Convinced of the necessity of a preliminary survey of the possibilities and difficulties involved, Kelley had finally set out with a small party early in 1832. He went by way of New Orleans and Mexico,[8] taking along a stock of trading goods, culinary utensils, and farming implements. These were promptly confiscated by the Mexican officials in lieu of customs duties, and the secretary of the Oregon Colonization Society found himself a penniless vagabond. Undiscouraged, he begged his way to Monterey, but there new troubles awaited him. Figueroa, then governor of Upper California, had no liking for Americans. This particular specimen excited his suspicion by proposing to make a survey of the Sacramento Valley for the Spanish government. Thwarted in this endeavor to earn his passage to Vancouver, Kelley succeeded in inducing Ewing Young, a trader from Taos, to try his fortunes on the Columbia River. Horses were to be the stock in trade, and a herd of over a hundred was got together, as well as a gang of men — sailors and unemployed trappers — to assist in driving the animals to their destination. The journey was made over the trail of the Hudson's Bay Company's California brigade, but it proved too difficult for the Boston schoolmaster. He fell ill of fever and would hardly have got through alive but for the kindness of Framboise, one of the Company's *engagés* on the Umpqua. At Fort Vancouver, a staggering disappointment awaited him. Figueroa

had forwarded to Dr. McLoughlin by a northbound vessel a letter of warning, apprising him that Kelley and Young had stolen their horses from a ranch on the Sacramento. The charge was false. The actual thieves (if thieves there were) were some irresponsible adventurers who joined Young's party on the Sacramento and deserted before they reached the Umpqua; but the chief factor could do no less than post a warning, pending investigation. He despatched inquiries to Figueroa, and that functionary was induced to withdraw his assertion; but in the three months' interval between question and answer, Young and Kelley were forbidden the Fort. Kelley, who was still seriously ill, was assigned quarters in an outlying cabin and a servant to attend to his wants. Food and medicines were regularly sent him, but he was denied the pleasant intercourse of the factor's table. That intercourse was especially interesting in the winter of 1834–1835 because of the presence of half a dozen American gentlemen who had come over with Wyeth: the naturalists Nuttall and Townsend, and the Methodist missionaries Jason and Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepherd. It would seem that these men, all of whom knew Kelley's standing in Boston, might have vouched for his character and extricated him from this humiliating dilemma; but no one of them dared to visit the discredited man except Shepherd, "the gentle Christian whom everybody loved." When Wyeth returned to Fort Vancouver from his excursion up the Des Chutes River, he found to his "great astonishment, Mr. Hall

J. Kelley at the Fort. He came in company with Mr. Young from Monte El Rey, and it is said stole between them a bunch of horses. Kelley is not received at the Fort as a gentlemen a house is given him and food sent him from the Gov. table but he is not suffered to mess here." [9] Kelley recounts that Wyeth came to his cabin, but his only words were, "Well, Kelley, how did you get here?" The wretched visionary, sick and destitute, clad in a tattered Mexican costume, obliged to accept alms from the hated Britons, and shunned by the only men who could be of use to him, bitterly resented this treatment from the friend to whom he had given the first information about the Oregon country. But Wyeth was himself in desperate straits and could offer no aid. Moreover, his experience in the mountains had taught him that honorable men might resort to dishonorable methods to tide them over an emergency.

Unlike Wyeth, who expressed unbounded admiration for the efficiency of the great monopoly, even while his business opportunities were melting away, Kelley railed against the Hudson's Bay Company as the author of all his misfortunes. He believed that the real ground of his exclusion from Vancouver was his known intention of colonizing Oregon with American citizens.[10] In the *Memoir* submitted to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1839, the embittered man asserted that he was "an object of dread and dislike to the grasping monopolists of the H. B. Co." because he was resolved "to act independently as an American on

American soil, seeking authentic information for general diffusion, and pursuing the avowed purpose of opening the trade of the territory to general competition, and the wealth of the country to general participation and enjoyment." He persuaded himself that his papers were tampered with and his food poisoned, and that he was finally hurried out of the country as a dangerous character. Dr. McLoughlin did give him free passage to the Sandwich Islands on a Company's ship, and a much needed contribution of £ 7 from his private purse. The latter courtesy Kelley does grudgingly acknowledge, but his obligations to the Company were ignored. In his *Narrative*, Dr. McLoughlin recounts the Kelley episode and adds: "On his return to the States, he published a narrative of his voyage in which, instead of being grateful for the kindness shown him, he abused me and falsely stated I had been so alarmed with the dread that he would destroy the H. B. Co.'s trade that I had kept a constant watch over him." President Jackson sent Lieutenant Slacum of the Navy to investigate the supposed outrage (1836), but he was soon convinced that Kelley had misrepresented the situation.

Ewing Young was a man of very different caliber. A Tennesseean by birth, he had engaged in the fur trade, first in Santa Fé and then in California, until, forced to the conclusion that this was a losing business, he determined to make a place for himself in Oregon. While Kelley was proclaiming his wrongs, Young possessed himself of an extensive tract of land on Chehalem Creek and there bred his Spanish

horses. He bitterly resented the accusation of horse stealing,[11] a capital crime on the frontier, and even when he was exonerated by Figueroa and given the same trade privileges at Fort Vancouver as other settlers, he cherished a stubborn grudge against the chief factor. Champoeg became the rallying ground for the "mountain-men," and the center of a zealously American party. Young undertook to set up a distillery as a means of restoring his depleted finances, using the kettles left by Wyeth for distilling vats; but this enterprise, the manufacture of "the white man's poison, the Indian's certain death," was earnestly protested by Dr. McLoughlin and the Lees. Young consented to abandon it on condition that his expenditure be made good to him, and the Doctor furnished him the means to erect a sawmill. Once established in business, Young's energy and uprightness of character soon rendered him a respected and influential citizen.

Kelley's campaign for an American Oregon was exaggerated and impractical because he took no account of obstacles and glorified his promised land beyond credence. The *Rambler* ridiculed his propaganda as the ravings of "a crack-brained schoolmaster of Boston." "Kelley's promises were indeed magnificent. According to him this transmontane Canaan was a land of milk and honey, full of navigable rivers, and practicable in every direction. The timber tops ascended into the very heaven; the soil yielded more to the acre, spontaneously, than the cultivated fields of Belgium and Britain.

No country afforded such facilities for ship-building; how easy it would be to transport the grain of Oregon, in vessels of Oregon timber, to India, China, and Japan! What facilities the country offered to the whale fishery and to railroad enterprise! The Columbia and its tributaries were literally choked with salmon." [12] The unlucky dreamer marked out the sites of future settlements, — a manufacturing town at the Falls of Willamette, a commercial town at the junction of the Willamette with the Columbia, a seaport on Gray's Bay. He even projected (in his *Geographical Sketch of Oregon*, 1829) a transcontinental railroad. It was to begin on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kansas, "cross the backbone of the Continent through a depression near the 43rd parallel," follow the Snake River to Walla Walla, and thence "make a mountainous transit" to the southern extremity of Puget Sound, "there to connect with the interminable tracks of the ships of the great deep." Kelley sincerely believed that if the Hudson's Bay Company had not thwarted his efforts, this road would have been graded throughout and Oregon fully populated by 1840. Sharing the fate of all idealists, he was a generation in advance of his day. All that he hoped for Oregon was destined to come to pass, and largely through his mad propaganda. His pamphlets and his newspaper generated a romantic enthusiasm for the vast realm beyond the Rockies so rapidly slipping from American control. His suggestion that every colonist should receive a grant of two hundred acres of arable land appealed with irresistible force to the

homeless and unemployed of the eastern cities and furnished the foundation for the Donation Act. Kelley's project for the occupation of Oregon failed, but a new impulse derived from an entirely different source proved more potent than the unmeasured enconiums of the ardent New Englander.

Section II

The Missionaries

All explorers, traders, and travellers, from Lewis and Clark to T. J. Farnham, are agreed as to the high moral qualities of the Flathead Indians. Franchère thought they got their religion as well as their horses from the Spanish settlements. "McTavish assured us that he had seen among the *Spokanes*, an old woman who told him that she had seen men ploughing the earth; she told him that she had also seen churches, which she had made him understand by imitating the sound of a bell, and the action of pulling a bellrope; and further to confirm her account, made the sign of the cross. That gentleman concluded that she had been made prisoner and sold to the Spaniards on the *Del Norte;* but I think it more probable it was nearer, in North California, at the Mission of *San Carlos* or *San Francisco*." [13] Wyeth records the religious observances of the Flatheads in the journal of his first expedition. "Every morning some important Indian addresses either heaven or his countrymen or both, I believe exhorting the one to good conduct to each other and to the strangers among them, and the other to bestow its blessings.

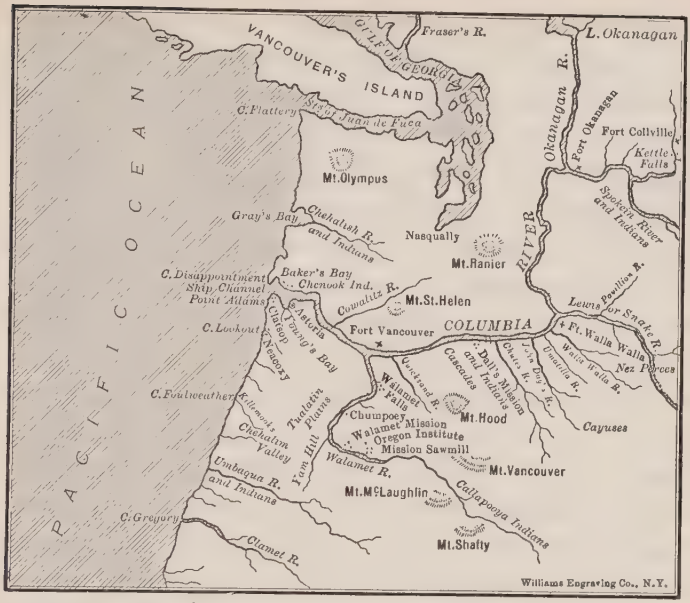
He finishes with 'I am done.' The whole set up an exclamation in concord during the whole time. Sunday there is more parade of prayer as above. Nothing is done Sunday in the way of trade with these Indians, nor in playing games, and they seldom fish or kill game or raise camp. While prayers are being said on week days, every one ceases whatever vocation he is about; if on horse-back he dismounts and holds his horse on the spot until all is done. Theft is a thing almost unknown among them and is punished by flogging, as I am told, but have never known an instance of theft among them. The least thing, even to a bead or pin, is brought you if found, and things that we throw away. This is sometimes troublesome. I have never seen an Indian get in anger with each other or strangers. I think you would find among twenty whites as many scoundrels as among one thousand of these Indians. They have a mild, playful, laughing disposition, and their qualities are strongly portrayed in their countenances. They are polite and unobtrusive, and however poor never beg except as pay for service, and in this way they are moderate and faithful but not industrious."[14]

In the summer of 1831, before Wyeth and Kelley set out for the Columbia, four mountain Indians, two Flatheads and two Nez Perces, came to St. Louis with Sublette's train and, finding General Clark, asked him to send to their people men who could teach them how to worship God. They were courteously entertained by the man who owed so much to these tribes, and were told that missionaries would come to the land that lay at the dividing of the waters.[15] News

of this unusual type of Indian fell into the hands of a sojourner in St. Louis, who forthwith wrote an account of their mission for the eastern press.[16] Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, raised "the cry from Macedonia" with convincing eloquence, and appealed to the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church to send the gospel to the Flatheads. An appropriation of $3000 was made by the Board, meetings were held in New York, New Haven, Middletown, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and additional funds sufficient for the enterprise were soon raised. Jason Lee of Canada, and his nephew, Daniel Lee, were appointed preachers, while Cyrus Shepherd of Lynn, Massachusetts, went as teacher. At Independence, Missouri, where the missionaries joined Wyeth's second expedition, P. L. Edwards was enlisted as lay helper and C. M. Walker as hired assistant. From Port Neuf River, where Wyeth stopped to build his trading post, the missionaries went on with the Hudson's Bay Company's factor, McKay, "toiling through immense tracts of mountain sage, or, more properly, wormwood, an ugly shrub from two to six feet high." [17] When McKay stopped to trap and trade for beaver, they joined the party of Captain Stuart, an English traveller, for the journey across the Blue Mountains to Walla Walla. The voyage down the Columbia was made with the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade. Arrived at Fort Vancouver, they were accorded a cordial welcome by Dr. McLoughlin, who was glad of any civilizing influence that entered his barbarous empire, and advised that they settle

on the Willamette, where they would have the protection of the Fort. He furnished them horses, a guide—Gervais—and provisions for a tour of exploration to French Prairie, where lay the farms of the ex-trappers.[18] The site selected for the mission station lay farther up the Willamette, about sixty miles from its mouth and on the east bank (Yamhill Creek). "Here was a broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered, and supplied with timber, oak, fir, cottonwood, white maple, and white ash, scattered along the borders of its grassy plains, where hundreds of acres were ready for the plough."[19]

The two lay helpers abandoned the enterprise, Walker transferring his services to Wyeth's post, Fort William, while Edwards opened a school at Champoeg, twelve miles below. Shepherd spent the winter at Vancouver in charge of the school that had been opened by Dr. McLoughlin "some time before," and the Lees were left to develop the Mission with such aid as they could secure from the settlers. A log house was built with implements procured from the *May Dacre*, and a barn raised. Dr. McLoughlin loaned fifteen head of cattle and gave £26 on his own account to this "public institution." In the spring of 1835 thirty acres was planted to corn, potatoes, wheat, oats, and vegetables. The yield exceeded the most sanguine hopes, and a subsistence for a considerable community was thereafter assured. When Slacum visited the Mission in 1836, there were one hundred and fifty acres fenced and under cultivation, and the cattle from Vancouver were doing well. The appeal of the Flatheads was apparently forgotten.



OREGON SETTLEMENTS IN 1844.

The Lees justified this diversion from the original object of their mission by the statement that "a larger field of usefulness was contemplated as the object of the mission than the benefiting of a single tribe." [20]

So far as they had in contemplation service to the "mountain men," the change of plan was wise; but the Indians of the lower Columbia were far less hopeful material for civilization than the tribes of the interior. Lewis estimated the Indian population (1806) at eight tribes of perhaps one thousand persons each, but they were even then fast degenerating under intercourse with the trading vessels. Kelley states that when he was on the river nothing remained but the remnants of these tribes, and that the

sum total could not have been more than five hundred souls. The Multnomahs were all dead, and their villages in ruins.[21] The Clatsops had lost their tribal autonomy and had taken refuge with the Chenooks on the north bank. "All the remaining Indians below Vancouver live in the most brutal, sottish and degraded manner; addicted to the grossest intemperance, and associating with the whites in such a manner that there can scarcely be found among them a full-blooded Indian child."

Such were the people whom the Methodist missionaries undertook to convert to the ways of Christianity! They wisely began with the children, organizing a home school for their benefit; but under the unaccustomed strain of confinement and regular tasks the poor things sickened and died or returned to the degraded savagery of their own villages, "free as a bird escaped from its cage." [22] "There were more Indian children in the mission grave-yard at the Walamet, . . . than there were of such as were alive in the manual labour school." [23] Consumption and scrofula and intermittent fever were the usual ailments, a dismal preoccupation that left little time for training, intellectual or industrial. Indeed, Daniel Lee naïvely records that the amount of labor to be performed about the place greatly retarded the progress of his pupils, while the adults were obdurate to the influences brought to bear. An old chief, who came to the Mission to be healed of a wound, declared openly that "the Bostons should never make him good." A serious effort was made to reach the Indians through the offer of material advantage.

They were urged to locate on a piece of ground assigned to their use and to till the soil, and the Lees offered to assist them in the building of comfortable houses. "A man was hired to help them, and some efforts were made in order to induce them to work and help themselves. There was, however, so much apathy among them, that, after having used various means for a year quite in vain, they abandoned the attempt." [24] The demoralizing influence of the sailors on the river seemed to be greater than all the efforts of the missionaries. The missions undertaken by Daniel Lee and Thomas Perkins at the Dalles and by J. H. Frost among the Chenooks were no more promising. These tribes were more demoralized, if possible, than the Calapoosas on the Willamette. The bandits at the Dalles did show much enthusiasm at first, but Daniel Lee was forced to admit in the end, that while prospective temporal gain might "make them ardent professional friends and serious hearers in the absence of all higher motives," yet the conversion was only skin-deep.

With the whites, the missionaries had better fortune. They set on foot a flourishing temperance society among the "mountain men," and the half-breed children came eagerly to school. The mission station was on the trail that led to California, and many weary travellers "worn out by their long and hungry tramp" found rest and refreshment at the hospitable station. Lee's *Ten Years* records the passing of Ewing Young with his "twelve sailors and hunters," and of Mr. Kelley, "a New England man who entertained some very extravagant notions

in regard to Oregon which he published on his return." [25]

In May and September of 1837 two supply ships arrived, bringing twenty more missionaries, among them several devout young women, and the bachelor missionaries were speedily married. This entailed the building of more houses and provision for the future. In the same year a joint stock company was organized for the purchase of cattle, the settlement having grown too large to be supplied from the Fort. Slacum, whose ship, *Loriot*, was in the roadstead, offered free passage to Bodega for the party of ten commissioned to purchase cattle in California, advanced $500 on behalf of the Mission, and gave to Ewing Young, who was to direct the enterprise, a new suit of clothes and a loan of $150. The other settlers got together $1000, and Dr. McLoughlin contributed $1250 on account of the Hudson's Bay Company. The expedition returned overland the year following, reënforced by several Americans from California and driving six hundred cattle and forty horses. The horses were sold at auction and the cattle distributed among the stockholders at the rate of $7.67 apiece. The Mission thus secured eighty fine animals. The settlers were allowed to redeem the domesticated cattle loaned them from Vancouver with these wild steers, — an offer that was gladly accepted.

Dr. Elijah White, a physician who came out with the reënforcement of 1837, indicates, in his *Ten Years in Oregon*, considerable dissatisfaction with Jason Lee's conduct of affairs. The following year he was

induced to return to the states, "ostensibly" to collect funds and secure additional workers, but also in the hope that "commingling once more with polished society would result advantageously to himself and the mission." [26] The letter addressed by Jason Lee to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (Middletown, Conn., Jan. 17, 1839) gives evidence that his views as to the function of the Willamette Mission had undergone a change. "The exclusive object of the Mission is the benefit of the Indian tribes west of the Rocky Mts. But to accomplish this object it is found necessary to cultivate the soil, erect dwelling houses and schools, build mills and, in fact, introduce all the necessaries and helps of a civilized colony." He stated his conviction that the missionaries would remain as the nucleus of an American settlement after their services to the Indians were no longer required, provided the United States government would guarantee title to the lands taken up and improvements thereon, together with protection and the laws of a civilized community. "The country will be settled, and that speedily, from some quarter; and it depends very much upon the speedy action of Congress what that population will be. . . . It may be thought that Oregon is of little importance; but, rely upon it, there is the germ of a great state." Lee returned to the Willamette in May, 1840, bringing fifty additional missionaries (thirty-eight adults and thirteen children) and $40,000 worth of supplies, a reënforcement that still further diluted the zeal for the conversion of the Indians. Sir George Simpson, who visited the Willamette Valley in 1841, charged the

Methodists with lukewarmness. "The American missionaries are making more rapid progress in the extension of their establishments and in the improvements of their farms, than in the ostensible objects of their residence in this country. As I cannot learn that they are successful, or taking much pains to be so, in the moral and religious instruction of the natives, who are perfectly bewildered by the variety of doctrines inculcated in this quarter." [27] The Methodist Mission was closed in 1844, and the property divided among the members.

The "cry from Macedonia" met with response from the Presbyterian Church, less generous than that of the Methodist Board in the way of money, but far more costly in human life. Two young missionaries, Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman, were despatched to Oregon in 1835. Parker made his way through to the Columbia, but decided that the field was not adapted to his talents and came back around the Horn. Whitman thought better of the prospect and returned to the United States for another helper and for his wife, Priscilla Prentis Whitman. The letters of this heroic woman furnish our most intimate knowledge of the struggles, the successes, the failure of the Waiilatpu Mission. In the spring of 1836, Mr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding and a Mr. Gray, crossed the Plains in the train of the American Fur Company to the annual rendezvous. They were provided with the usual number of horses and beef cattle, but the quite unusual accessory of a four-wheeled wagon was added for the comfort of the ladies. Ashley had taken wagons

through the South Pass ten years earlier, but such a vehicle had never attempted the lava beds along the Snake River nor threaded the steep defiles of the Blue Mountains.

On the trail up Bear River to Fort Hall, the missionaries travelled in company with McLeod and McKay, the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, and these gentlemen were indefatigable in their efforts to smooth the path of the gentle emissaries of civilization. Buffalo failed after Bear River was passed, but antelope and elk were abundant, and at Fishing Falls there were plenty of salmon. Snake River was crossed at a point where two islands divide the stream into fordable channels. Here the wagon capsized, and much of the luggage had to be abandoned; but when the axletree broke, the indomitable Whitman converted the vehicle into a two-wheeled cart. At Fort Boisé the wagon was finally abandoned.[28] In recrossing the Snake, below the Boisé, the ladies were intrusted to a rush canoe towed by Indians on horseback. "It is simply bunches of rushes tied together, and attached to a frame made of a few sticks of small willows."[29] Whitman had intended to settle at Grande Ronde, the rendezvous of the mountain tribes, but was dissuaded by the almost insurmountable difficulty of getting supplies into a region so far from navigable rivers. The crossing of the Blue Mountains was the most awkward part of the journey, and the western slope was dangerous even for pack horses. "It was like winding stairs in its descent, and in some places almost perpendicular."[29]

Arrived at Fort Walla Walla, the weary travellers were cordially welcomed by Mr. Pambrun and feasted on the good things of his little farm. They had now reached the country of the Nez Perces, but it was deemed necessary to go on to Vancouver for supplies, and here the hospitable Dr. McLoughlin gave the new-comers a hearty welcome. He was not very encouraging, however, as to their prospects among the Flatheads, and warned them that their lives were in danger unless they settled under the protection of one of the Company's forts. This advice was adopted, and the men of the party returned to the Walla Walla to build a house at Waiilatpu, some thirty miles above the Fort, while the ladies accepted the hospitality of Fort Vancouver for the winter. Boats and guides and supplies were placed at the service of the new missionaries. "Dr McLoughlin promises to loan us enough to make a beginning, and all the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. He appears desirous to afford us every facility in his power for living. No person could have received a more hearty welcome, or be treated with greater kindness than we have been since our arrival." [30]

The Presbyterian missions were placed at strategic points among the mountain tribes; the Whitmans settled at Waiilatpu in the land of the Cayuses, the Spaldings among the Nez Perces at Lapway on the Clearwater, while Walker and Eels, who came out in 1839, went into the heart of the Flathead country above Fort Colville. At all of these stations, every effort was made to teach the natives industry as well

as religion. Vegetables and fruits were introduced, fields cultivated to wheat, and grist-mills erected. At first the Indians seemed honest and tractable and eager to improve their condition. They even so far overcame their repugnance to manual labor as to till the fields and care for the hogs, hens, and cattle obtained from Walla Walla. But a quite unlooked-for source of dissension arose. The natives grew jealous of the waxing prosperity of the new-comers and began to demand payment, not only for the land, but for the wood and water as well. "It is difficult for them to feel but that we are rich and getting rich by the houses we dwell in and the clothes we wear and hang out to dry after washin from week to week, and the grain we consume in our families." [31] This state of mind impressed the hard-worked missionaries as both unreasonable and ungrateful. Dr. Whitman explained that the mission property was not his but belonged to the American Board, that he had come at the invitation of the Indians and would withdraw when he was no longer welcome. Another cause of distrust was that the medicines administered by Dr. Whitman did not always cure. When the sick persons had recourse to the medicine man, they were told that the whites were giving poison to rid the land of the Indian. An Iroquois named Joe Gray, who had been educated at Dartmouth but had reverted to the wild life of his fathers, came to the Walla Walla at this unlucky juncture and told the people that east of the mountains the whites had paid the Indians for all the land they tilled. He suggested that the Cayuses should insist upon their

rights. Nothing but the near neighborhood of Fort Walla Walla prevented an open outbreak.

Meantime the Catholic church had not been oblivious to the needs of this remote land. The Hudson's Bay Company had sent two priests to the Columbia district (1838) for the benefit of the French *engagés* at the forts, Walla Walla and Vancouver, and the settlements of Cowlitz and French Prairie, and, according to Sir George Simpson, "they had been very zealous in the discharge of their missionary duties." They could boast no less a convert than Dr. McLoughlin himself. Some time during the winter of 1841–1842, after reading Milner's polemic, *The End of Controversy*, he was baptized into the faith dear to his mother and his wife and to the French Canadians with whom he had so long been associated. It was an impolitic step so far as his Oregon interests were concerned, but it was taken with the chief factor's characteristic firmness. An antagonism between the Fort and the Methodist Mission is traceable from this time.

The Flathead deputation of 1831 had been noted by the Catholic clergy. Indeed, the two Indians who died at St. Louis were buried in the cathedral. When neither the Methodist nor the Presbyterian missionaries ventured to this devoted people, a second deputation was sent to St. Louis (1835) and a third (1837). The Jesuit order took up the neglected task, and in the spring of 1840 Father de Smet journeyed to the mountains with the American Fur Company's brigade. At Pierre's Hole, he met the Flatheads and preached the gospel to the assembled tribe,

baptizing several hundred. Immensely encouraged, the zealous apostle returned to St. Louis in the autumn for reënforcements, and in the following spring recrossed the Plains with two priests and four lay brethren and an adequate outfit to found the mission of St. Mary's in the Bitter Root Valley. The enterprise was planned for the civilization as well as the conversion of the Indians. They were taught to plough and plant, and wheat, oats, and potatoes were sown and harvested, to the amazement and delight of these aspirants for the white man's way of life. The following year, Father de Smet went down to Fort Vancouver to confer with his fellow-clergy and with the chief factor, and it was determined that he should canvass the United States and Europe for reënforcements. He returned by ship in 1843 with a considerable number of "black frocks." Thus strengthened, the apostle to the Flatheads extended his endeavor to other mountain tribes and founded the mission of the Sacred Heart for the Cœur d'Alênes and St. Ignatius' for the Pend d'Oreilles. Industrial development kept pace with the religious. At St. Mary's, Father Ravalli built a grist-mill, having brought the millstones from Europe for this purpose. For his sawmill, this same ingenious priest provided saw and crank beaten out of wagon tires. At St. Ignatius, too, a flour-mill was set up and a whip-saw run by water-power. The first church was built of sawed timbers which were put together without nails.

The first missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, were devoted and self-sacrificing; but the rival establishments, preaching different forms of worship,

had an unfortunate effect on the Indian mind. The confusion of authority was discouraging. Moreover, the natives had anticipated that the white man's religion would bring them prosperity, — successful hunts and immunity from disease. When they found that the old ills were not abated and that new evils hitherto unknown were upon them — the white man's diseases, the white man's preëmption of land and game — a sense of grievance and hostility took the place of their early hospitality. Apparently the gulf between the aborigines and civilized man was too wide to be crossed in one generation. It seems the irony of fate that the saintly Whitmans were selected as the victims of their futile wrath. On an autumn evening of 1847, the Cayuses suddenly attacked the Mission at Waiilatpu, killing in their blind rage not only Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, but the children resident in school and some American emigrants. The immediate result was a punitive expedition under the auspices of the United States, and the relations of friendship and equality between white man and red were at an end.

Section III

Dr. McLoughlin as a Colonizer

The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the Indians had always been conservative. The aborigines were regarded as hardly less important than the fur-bearing animals as factors in their trade, and the continuance of the several tribes in their ancient hunting grounds was a matter of serious con-

cern. For this reason, liquor was debarred, and intermarriage between native women and the Hudson's Bay Company's men was encouraged. The chief factor himself had married a half-breed, the widow of Alexander McKay. The advent of foreign traders who brought in whiskey and vicious practices, together with the coming of settlers not under the jurisdiction of the Great Company, was naturally dreaded; but, far from discouraging colonization, the Company regarded the agricultural development of such territory as had ceased to produce furs in profitable proportions as a natural sequence; — witness the Red River settlement. By the terms of its charter, the Company was not permitted to discharge any of the Hudson's Bay Company servants in the wilderness. They must be returned to the headquarters in Montreal. This was a humane provision, quite analogous to the regulation that a seaman may not be abandoned in a foreign port; but the retiring employees of the Columbia district, seeing that this was a goodly land and well suited to farming, petitioned the chief factor to be allowed to settle there.[32] Dr. McLoughlin devised a scheme by which he might conform to the letter of the law, while providing for the needs of the men and at the same time furthering the ultimate advantage of the Company. *Engagés* who had completed their contracted term of service and accumulated £50 out of their wages, were permitted to take their families to the Willamette Valley and settle there; but their names were not stricken from the books. They were still servants of the Company and liable to recall in case of need. Seed

wheat, etc., was advanced from the stores at the Fort, on the understanding that the debt would be cleared with the first surplus product. Two oxen and two cows were furnished each settler on condition that all the increase be returned to Vancouver, but on no consideration were any cattle sold from the Company's herd. Implements and other supplies were sold to *engagés* at fifty per cent advance on London prices.[33] Wyeth wrote in 1839: "For several years past the Hudson's Bay Company have been in the practice of permitting their servants to retire from their employ, and settle on the Willamette; there are perhaps some twenty or thirty persons of this description, who are cultivating to a small extent on the bottoms of that river above the Falls (French Prairie). In these cases the obligations beween them and the Company are not dissolved, but only suspended at the will of the Company, who can at pleasure recall them at their stations; and this is often done, and the power to do so is used to govern them; their pay from the Company ceases during their absence from their stations, but is restored on their return." It was essential to the peace of the district that these discharged employees should be held in effective control. A definite colonization scheme was determined on during Dr. McLoughlin's visit to London (1840), and settlers were sent out by way of the Saskatchewan in 1841 under the auspices of the Puget Sound Agricultural Association.

Besides the Hudson's Bay Company's servants, there were a number of free trappers, who, finding increasing difficulty in making a livelihood from the

beaver hunt, were desirous of settling down as farmers in the Multnomah country. The remnant of the Astorians — Joseph Gervais, William Cannon, and Alexander Carson, Lucier, La Framboise, Louis Labonté, Jack and Philip Degré — were settled here, and one man, François Rivet, who claimed to have been one of Lewis and Clark's party. Other trappers, "mountain men" from Snake River and the Seed-skeedee, having heard of the beauty and fertility of the Willamette Valley, determined to recoup their failing fortunes by moving thither.[34] Farnham met on Snake River two of these discouraged trappers, Gordon and Meek, who were setting out with their squaws, papooses, and all their "possibles" for the descent of the Columbia. They and many of their fellow trappers were proposing to "settle in one neighbourhood, and cultivate the earth, or hunt, as inclination or necessity might suggest, and thus pass the evening of their days among the wild pleasures of that delightful wilderness." [35] The cabin of one of these squatters is described by Farnham: "It was a hewn log structure, about twenty feet square, with a mud chimney, hearth and fireplace. The furniture consisted of one chair, a number of wooden benches, a rude bedstead covered with flag mats; and several sheet-iron kettles, earthen plates, knives, forks, tin pint cups, an Indian wife, and a brace of brown boys." [36]

To all these would-be farmers — French, Scotch, and American — Dr. McLoughlin offered the same terms as to his old servants. Without his aid success would have been impossible, for Vancouver

was the only source of supply for seed, implements, cattle, and provisions, and the only market for their surplus products. At first sight the chief factor's plan of action would seem to go directly athwart the interest of the great fur monopoly; but to a man actually resident in the country, it was evident that the fur-bearing animals were being exhausted and that new commodities must be brought to the Fort or its trade would languish. Astor's scheme of a trade with the Russian settlements was successfully developed by McLoughlin, and for this trade food-stuffs were the first essential. The grain grown on the Company's farm could not supply the demand, so it was evident that an agricultural colony producing wheat and potatoes would be a valuable accessory. To the settlers, the near neighborhood of the Fort was an unmixed gain, furnishing adequate protection from the Indians and from foreign interference, as well as a sure market for their surplus products. For wheat a fixed price of three shillings a bushel, always paid in supplies at thirty per cent less than the trade level, meant the equivalent of $1.25 in the States. The certificates of sale given to the farmers and redeemable at the Company's stores served all the purposes of money. To enable the penniless to earn a living, the chief factor "commenced building extensively, at the falls of the Wallamette, and thereby gave immediate employment, at the highest wages, to all those who wished to labor." [37]

That Dr. McLoughlin's policy was not displeasing to his superiors is evident from the recently published

report of Sir George Simpson, who visited the Columbia district in 1841. He notes that there were at that date one hundred and twenty-six men, heads of families, settled on the Willamette — sixty-five Americans and sixty-one Canadians — making a total population of five hundred whites. "All these people have taken possession of tracts of country at pleasure, which they expect to retain under a good title arising from such possession, whenever the boundary question may be determined; and are generally very comfortably settled, bringing portions of their farms gradually under cultivation, and having large stocks of cattle brought from California. * * * We have this season purchased from these settlers about 4000 bu. wheat at 3 / per bushel, which will be disposed of to advantage by resale, and instead of manifesting any opposition to these people by withholding supplies from them, or putting them to inconvenience in other respects, it is considered good policy to deal with them on such fair and reasonable terms, that no stranger would benefit materially by opposing us in our transactions with them." [38] Sir George visited not only "the pastoral settlement at Multnomah Is." (Governor's Island at Willamette Falls), but the "Puget Sound Company's tillage farm" at the head of Cowlitz River. Here was a tract of eighteen hundred acres, of which one thousand was under cultivation, producing eight thousand bushels of wheat and four thousand bushels of oats and barley, besides a large quantity of potatoes. Here and on the fertile plains about Hood's Canal the land was farmed by tenants, — English and French half-breeds,

retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company from Red River. The men of English blood were furnished with sheep and cattle, and cultivated their crops on halves. The French were intrusted with seed and agricultural implements, but it was thought they were "not likely to do well with cattle." The governor in chief opined that this region would be "very favorable for settlement and would find an outlet for a foreign market by the straits of de Fuca." "There is no doubt that that country will in due time, become important as regards settlement and commerce, while the country in the vicinity of the coast, bordering on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, so much spoken of in the United States as the El Dorado of the shores of the northern Pacific, must from the dangers of the bar and the impediments of navigation together with its unhealthiness sink in the public estimation." A contrary opinion was held by David Thompson, the old Northwester. Thompson was now a broken and forgotten man, but he addressed to the English government a vigorous protest against the surrender of the Columbia River country, the most promising portion of the British inheritance on the Pacific Coast.

Section IV

American Emigrants

The interest in Oregon awakened by Kelley's campaign and Wyeth's enterprises was stimulated and disseminated by reports of the beauty and fer-

tility of the region sent back to "the States" by the missionaries. The Lees wrote letters to the *Christian Advocate*, which was published simultaneously in New York, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis; Whitman's articles appeared in the *Congregationalist* of Boston, the *Missionary Herald* of New York, the *Christian Mirror* of Portland. Even more stirring were the addresses made by the returned missionaries or their representatives in the Eastern cities. We have an account of one such lecture delivered by Jason Lee in Peoria in the autumn of 1838 which impelled a young lawyer from Vermont, T. J. Farnham, to lead a party of nineteen to the land of promise the following year. Farnham's enterprise added but eight settlers to the Willamette colony, but his report of what he saw and heard in the course of his journey to the far-famed Valley was widely read and had great effect in stimulating emigration to the Pacific Coast and in determining the American people to get possession not only of Oregon, but of California. During the decade 1839 to 1849, there was an annual migration from Westport up the Platte River and across South Pass to Fort Hall, thence down the Snake and over the Blue Mountains to Waiilatpu.

With dangers thickening about their infant mission, the Whitmans welcomed the appearance of white settlers. In May of 1840 Mrs. Whitman wrote, "a tide of immigration appears to be moving this way rapidly. . . . We are emphatically situated on the highway between the States and the Columbia River, and are a resting place for the

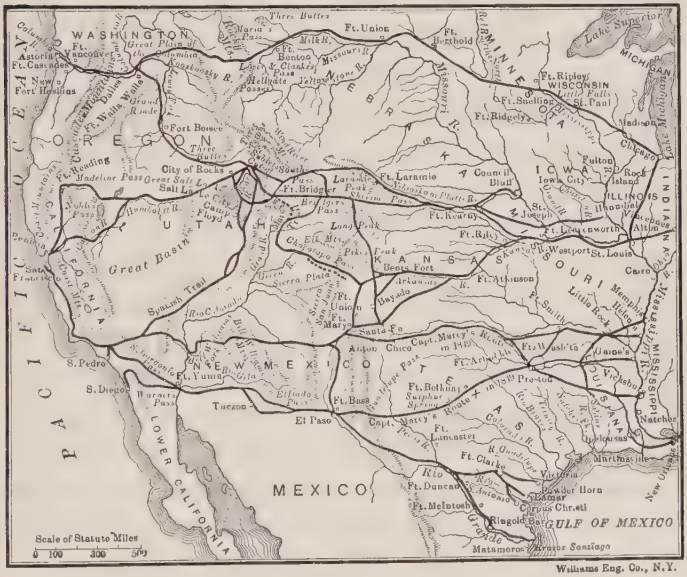
weary travellers, consequently a greater burden rests upon us than upon any of our associates — to be always ready." Considerations of humanity as well as of safety determined these devoted servants of God to give such food and shelter as they possessed to all who passed that way. In 1841 two parties of Missourians, forty-two people all told, went through to the Willamette Valley. "Those emigrants were entirely destitute of every kind of food when they arrived here, and we were under necessity of giving them provisions to help them on. Our little place is a resting spot for many a weary, way-worn traveller, and will be as long as we live here. If we can do good that way, perhaps it is as important as some other things we are doing."[39] In a letter written this same year, Whitman signed himself, "Your obedient fellow laborer for the salvation of the Indians, white settlers and passers-by in Oregon."

In October of 1842 Dr. Whitman made a hurried journey back to the States on mission business. Because of the lateness of the season, he took the circuitous route by way of Taos, Santa Fé, and Bent's Fort, and arrived on the seaboard early in March, 1843, after a hazardous journey. In April he was back on the Missouri frontier piloting a party of emigrants to Oregon. His caravan of one hundred and twenty wagons was the first to cross the Snake River Desert and the Blue Mountains to the Walla Walla. From the Shawnee Mission he wrote: "It is now decided in my mind that Oregon will be occupied by American citizens. Those who

INDEPENDENCE ROCK.
A landmark on the Oregon Trail.

CROSSING OF THE PLATTE.
Mouth of Deer Creek.

go [now] only open the way for more another year." [40] Nearly one thousand men, women and children followed the Oregon Trail under his guidance, with



Emigrant Roads, 1859.

fifteen hundred cattle. The bulk of the emigrants came from the Western states — Kentucky Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and Illinois — and were farmers, lured by the prospect of free land and by the insatiable desire to see something of the world and to better themselves. J. C. Fremont, Senator Benton's son-in-law, who undertook a survey of the route this year, found it already thronged with emigrants. "The edge of the wood, for several miles along the [Bear] river, was dotted with the white covers of the emigrant wagons, collected in groups at different camps, where the smokes were rising lazily from

the fires, around which the women were occupied in preparing the evening meal, and the children playing in the grass; and herds of cattle grazing about in the bottom, had an air of quiet security, and civilized comfort, that made a rare sight for the traveller in such a remote wilderness." [41]

While in Washington in the spring of 1843, Whitman had some conference with the secretary of war, and in consequence submitted a statement concerning the difficulties and dangers of the route and the draft of a bill proposing that the government provide military protection and a series of agricultural stations at strategic points along the Trail. The river crossings were suggested as the most desirable posts, because here the Indians were prone to fall upon the unguarded cattle, and here, too, soil and water supply were apt to make feasible the cultivation of wheat and other food needed by the people. Whitman thought such stations would be self-supporting, for the sale of supplies to the travellers would suffice for all money expense. Cattle and horses would be raised to make good the losses suffered by the trains, and blacksmiths and carpenters should be at hand to repair damages to the wagons. This admirable proposition was not submitted to Congress because the unsettled state of the boundary question rendered Oregon a delicate subject; but the service which Whitman suggested should be undertaken by Uncle Sam was soon appropriated by private citizens. Fort Hall and Fort Boisé and Fort Laramie—the American Fur Company's post on the South Platte—were already driv-

ing a thriving trade in emigrants' supplies, and another, Fort Bridger, was built this same year by a quondam fur trader, James Bridger.

Even more helpful to the on-coming Americans was the chief factor at Fort Vancouver. As the parties of way-worn emigrants came down the Columbia, ragged and destitute, they were received at the Hudson's Bay Company trading post as at a mediæval hospice. The thievish Indians at the Dalles and at the Cascades were warned not to molest the white men, the sick were taken into the hospital and tended by the post physician, food and shelter were furnished the women and children free of charge until they could be removed to the settlement, seed wheat was provided for the first sowing, and cattle, oxen, cows, and hogs were loaned on the same terms as to the Company's men. This assistance was offered by Dr. McLoughlin on his own responsibility and at his personal cost, because it was impossible for a man of his training and in his position to see human beings suffer from hunger and cold. His philanthropy was poorly requited. Burnet, himself a pioneer and a Missourian, states, "Many of our immigrants were unworthy of the favors they received, and only returned abuse for generosity."[42] An immigrant of 1844, Joseph Watt, makes a similar confession: "When we started to Oregon, we were all prejudiced against the Hudson's Bay Company, and Dr. McLoughlin, being Chief Factor of the Company for Oregon, came in for a double share of that feeling. I think a great deal of this was caused by the

reports of missionaries and adverse traders, imbuing us with a feeling that it was our mission to bring this country under the jurisdiction of the Stars and Stripes. But when we found him anxious to assist us, nervous at our situation on being so late, and doing so much without charge, — letting us have of his store, and waiting without interest, until we could make a farm and pay him from the surplus products of such farm, the prejudice heretofore existing began to be rapidly allayed. We did not know that every dollar's worth of provisions, etc., he gave us, all advice and assistance in every shape, was against the positive orders of the Hudson Bay Company. . . . In this connection I am sorry to say that thousands of dollars [$60,000] virtually loaned by him to settlers at different times in those early days, was never paid, as an examination of his books and papers will amply testify." [43]

Dr. McLoughlin probably never read de la Rochefoucauld's bitter maxim, If you wish to make a man your enemy, do him a kindness he can never repay; but he had abundant reason to realize its truth. The details of the chief factor's relations with the Company during these critical years will not be known until a fuller study of the records can be made. It is probable that some one reported his impolitic generosity to the London Office. Certain it is that he was summoned to London in 1845 and soon after resigned his post. His position under the treaty of Joint Occupation was a difficult one. The boundary was not defined, but the suggestions given by Governor Simpson pointed to the Columbia

River as the probable line of division. The Willamette Valley might surely be regarded as open to American enterprise. Traders could be driven out by competitive methods; but in the matter of colonization the United States clearly had the advantage, and the Americans by this time far outnumbered any force the chief factor could bring to bear. They were hot-headed frontiersmen, moreover, who knew how to handle their rifles, and the first attempt to dislodge them would certainly precipitate war. McLoughlin's *Narrative*, written to justify his action in the minds of the London directors, adduces the fact that the immigrants "came from that part of the United States most hostile in feeling to British interests," [44] and he cites Irving's *Astoria* as highly provocative of the belief that the United States had been unfairly treated.

Section V

Congressional Intervention

A resolution that inquiry be made as to the condition of the American settlements on the Pacific Ocean and as to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River, was introduced in the Congressional session of 1820–1821, — only two years after the treaty of Joint Occupation had been concluded, — by Dr. Floyd, senator from Virginia. Thomas Benton was not yet a member of the Senate, but he was in Washington urging Missouri's right to statehood, and he used his influence in behalf of the lost territory. He relates in the *Thirty Years' View* [45] that he and Floyd were stop-

ping at the same hotel with Ramsay Crooks and Russell Farnham, and that the extension of the fur trade in this direction was a matter of frequent discussion. Floyd's bill passed the second reading and was then dropped by tacit consent. It was supported by an impressive array of information and statistics supplied by Hall J. Kelley, and the arguments advanced, in addition to the recovery of the territory and the advantage to the fur trade, were the desirability of having a supply station for whaling vessels on this coast and the promotion of commerce with Asia. This last point appealed to Benton's fervid fancy and he ventured to prophesy, "The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan, and an outlet to their imprisoned and exuberant population." [46] Undiscouraged by the initial failure, Benton himself introduced a bill (1825) proposing that the defence of the Columbia be undertaken in order that Americans might have equal chances with the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company.[47] He opposed the renewal of the treaty of Joint Occupation (1828) "with all the zeal and ability of which I was master," and he found six western senators to vote with him. The renewal for an indefinite period of an arrangement that gave the great British monopoly a free hand in Oregon aroused his indignant scorn, and the failure of the Ashburton Treaty (1842) to settle the boundary question, he denounced as little short of treason. The attempt to colonize Puget Sound with emigrants from Canada and Great Britain he proclaimed a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine.

Meantime the Oregon controversy was being settled by the emigrants. They were pouring into the country, — one hundred and twenty-five in 1842 and eight hundred and seventy-five in 1843, — and they took up land in the Willamette Valley and built cabins, quite regardless of treaty obligations or United States law. In May, 1843, they met in convention at Champoeg (Young's ranch) and organized a provisional government.[48] Dr. McLoughlin was powerless to interfere, even had he desired to do so, and when in 1845 word came that the British government would not undertake to protect Fort Vancouver, the chief factor and all the British residents took oath to support the newly constituted authorities, reserving, as did the Americans, allegiance due to the home government.[49] In this same year, L. F. Linn, junior senator from Missouri, brought forward a bill providing for the erection of five blockhouses along the Oregon Trail for the protection of emigrants and granting farms in the disputed territory to *bona fide* settlers.[50] The bill failed to pass, but the mere proposal to allow six hundred and forty acres to every head of a family with one hundred and sixty acres to his wife and one hundred and sixty acres to each child under eighteen years, at the end of five years' cultivation — served as a new stimulus to the westward movement. Eighteen hundred people followed the Trail in 1844 and three thousand in 1845. By the end of 1845, there were six thousand Americans in Oregon. The emigration of the next year doubled the number and determined the fate of the country.

The inauguration of President Polk, a thoroughgoing expansionist, in 1846, settled the policy of the government. The Democratic platform had fixed upon 54° 40′, the southern boundary of the Russian dominions (determined by treaty in 1824), as the northern limit of the American possessions; but the soberer statesmen, including Benton, regarded this claim as untenable. Great Britain was ready to compromise at the forty-ninth parallel, and this moderate policy prevailed in the treaty of 1846. The Donation Act of 1850 finally realized the liberal land policy proposed by Hall, Whitman, and Linn. To every citizen of the United States who had settled in Oregon before the passage of the bill, including half-breeds, was allotted land to the amount of three hundred and twenty acres; to his wife, if he was married or about to be married, three hundred and twenty acres more. To all Americans who should settle in the territory before 1853, one hundred and sixty acres for the man and one hundred and sixty more for the wife. To avail themselves of this legislation, Dr. McLoughlin and others of the Hudson's Bay Company officials took out citizens' papers. The attempt to open this newly acquired territory to slave labor failed.

The American settlers had entered upon a goodly heritage and they proceeded to make the most of it. The Hudson's Bay Company was now the interloper, and its property rights in the territory were given slight regard. The admirable mill site at Willamette Falls which Dr. McLoughlin had developed in behalf of the Company, blasting a mill-

race and collecting squared timber and machinery for a saw-mill, was claimed by the Methodist Mission. Oregon City was the most promising town site on the Willamette and here a flourishing settlement had sprung up. Palmer described it in 1845 as having one hundred houses and six hundred inhabitants. "There are two grist mills; one owned by M'Laughlin, having three sets of buhr runners, and will compare well with most of the mills in the United States; the other is a smaller mill, owned by Governor Abernethy and Mr. Beers. At each of these grist-mills there are also saw-mills which cut a great deal of plank for the use of emigrants. There are four stores, two taverns, one hatter, one tannery, three tailor shops, two cabinet-makers, two silversmiths, one cooper, two blacksmiths, one physician, three lawyers, one printing office, . . . one lath machine, and a good brick yard in active operation. There are also quite a number of carpenters, masons etc. in constant employment, at good wages, in and about this village." [51] On his own behalf, Dr. McLoughlin claimed a tract of six hundred and forty acres on the river bank at this point, where he had put a number of houses and projected a town. These prior rights could not be gainsaid except by power of eminent domain; therefore representations were made to Congress that brought about the incorporation of Section Eleven into the Donation Act, reserving these lands as financial foundation for a state university. Under this show of legality, Dr. McLoughlin's tract was sold to the men who had secured the legislation.[52]

The broken-hearted old man protested without avail. "I founded this settlement and prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain, and for doing this peaceably and quietly, I was treated by the British in such a manner that from self-respect I resigned my situation in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, by which I sacrificed $12000 per annum, and the 'Oregon Land Bill' shows the treatment I received from the Americans." [53]

The boundary treaty had reserved the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to navigate the Columbia and to continue its trading operations until the expiration of its charter, although these privileges were hardly worth prosecuting now that the beaver were being supplanted by cultivation and American vessels sailed up the roadstead bringing goods from the United States and carrying produce to California and the Sandwich Islands. When the great British company withdrew in 1859, the property at the several posts was offered to the United States government for $1,000,000. A commission was appointed to estimate the value of the improvements at Fort Vancouver. The property had been so looted and wasted by the squatters who hurried to take possession as soon as it was vacated, that the commissioners found justification for appraising this estate at $250 !

CHAPTER II

THE MORMON MIGRATION

Thus far the dominant motive in the westward movement had been the demand for new lands, the desire to better material conditions. The initial impulse in the peopling of the Great Basin was given by religious persecution. Like the Pilgrims who founded Plymouth Colony, the Mormon leaders sought an unoccupied country where they might be free to worship God according to their own convictions and might build a commonwealth after their own notions of moral and spiritual well-being. First in Ohio and then in Missouri, they had attempted to establish a community patterned upon the revelations enunciated by their prophet, Joseph Smith. Such an enterprise was of necessity exclusive, and this exclusiveness, coupled with their projects of universal dominion, aroused the envy and ill-will of their "Gentile" neighbors. Driven from their Missouri homes by mob violence (Independence, 1831; Far West, 1838) and forced to abandon lands and property, they found refuge in Illinois. Commerce, a little settlement on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi, was purchased by their agent and rechristened Nauvoo. There, by dint of thrift and solidarity, the Latter Day Saints soon acquired farms, started manufactures, and accumulated considerable wealth. Missionaries were sent through-

out the civilized world (1840) to enlist converts and solicit financial aid for the New Jerusalem. By 1844, thirty thousand Mormons were gathered at Nauvoo, and twice as many disciples in the Eastern states, in England, in Scandinavia, and in Germany, were preparing to join their revered leader in this new Zion.

The frontier population of Illinois was hardly less lawless than that of Missouri. River pirates, refugees from justice, half-breed Indians, defiant squatters, mingled with the law-abiding element, both in Nauvoo and in the surrounding country. The Mormons, on the other hand, were charged with harboring cattle thieves, counterfeiters, and polygamists. It is not unlikely that some of the more ignorant and reckless brethren interpreted as immediate in application the prediction that the saints should inherit the earth, and so regarded the theft of cattle and grain from Gentile farmers as justifiable,—the "spoiling of the Egyptians" as the phrase was. The authorities were both unwilling and unable to enforce the law against either contestant, words waxed to blows, and in the end the much-enduring Mormons were once more forced to migrate. A scant space of six months was allowed them in which to sell their possessions and purchase the wagons, oxen, and supplies for this third decampment. Their determination to go into a far wilderness, beyond the reach of their persecutors, was sealed by the betrayal and murder of Joseph Smith. That crime was the final demonstration of the duplicity of the Gentile world and the necessity of

building an independent commonwealth where the Saints might dwell in peace and safety. No true Mormon hesitated to face the issue.

In February, 1846, the advance-guard crossed the Mississippi and formed a temporary camp at Sugar Creek, about nine miles back from the river. Early in March, sixteen hundred men, women, and children set out thence to cross the rolling plains of southern Iowa. Wood, water, and game were abundant, and there was no difficulty in securing food from the farmers along the route in exchange for labor. Arrived at Council Bluffs, they crossed the Missouri and camped in the Indian reservation. Here among the Ottawas or in the Pottawattamie bottoms on the east bank of the river, the refugees found sanctuary. For twenty years thereafter, the Bluffs was the point of departure for the Mormon who had set his face Zionward, and a "Winter Quarters" was maintained where the emigrants might recuperate and secure the outfit for their journey across the plains.[1] Here fields were planted and cattle gathered for the use of the ever increasing tide. A grist-mill was built to prepare the flour, and blacksmiths and wheelwrights were employed to make ready the wagons that were to transport the "Saints" and their belongings to the land of promise, and here, during the summer and autumn of 1846, the Nauvoo refugees rallied. The late comers, those who because of illness or inability to provide means for the journey had delayed their departure till September, suffered severely. Overtaken by winter storms and scantily supplied with food and clothing, they

encountered every hardship. Exposure and the malaria-haunted country through which they were marching bred disease. The names given to their halting places, Poor Camp and Misery Bottom, attested their wretched plight. Had not food and fresh oxen been sent to their aid from Winter Quarters, the women and children, the sick and aged must have perished. Under the efficient direction of the apostles, the combined resources of the church were brought to bear in this *trek* of a devoted people, and every individual gave ungrudgingly time, strength, and skill to the task of making provision for the needy. By intelligent coöperation fifteen thousand human beings with three thousand wagons, thirty thousand cattle, large flocks of sheep, and all manner of tools, machinery, and materials deemed serviceable in the colonization of a wilderness were conveyed across the four hundred miles between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs in the short space of six months.[2]

It was a great achievement, but only the beginning of the task the Mormon leaders had set themselves. Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith in the presidency, had determined to place his flock beyond the mountains that formed the western limit of the Louisiana Purchase, out of reach of persecution. Little was then known of the vast basin or series of basins lying between the continental divide and the Sierra Nevada, except that the region was arid, treeless, and comparatively destitute of animal life. It was indicated on contemporary maps as the Great American Desert.

Kanesville, Iowa, as Winter Quarters.

Trappers had followed the mountain streams and practically exterminated the beaver, Ashley had held his rendezvous at Salt Lake, and Jedidiah Smith had made this desolate spot his headquarters. W. A. Walker had crossed (1833) the desert to the Sierras beyond, returning by way of Ogden River. Ten years later, the "pathfinder," under the guidance of Kit Carson, had explored the Great Salt Lake and reported his "discovery" to the government. Fremont's brilliant *Journal* was printed in 1845 and may have fallen into the hands of the Mormon leader; but in any case, the route to South Pass and the wonderful possibilities of Upper California were well known, so that migration to that region could not be regarded as an enterprise requiring superhuman foresight. It was the part of a judicious Moses, however, to go in advance of his people and spy out the land.

Early in April of 1847, President Young, with a company of one hundred and forty picked men, set out to discover the promised Zion. Seventy-three ox carts were loaded with food for the march and with farm implements, seeds, and carpenters' tools for the preparation of quarters for the later migration. The south bank of the Platte was the usual route of the Oregonians, but Young followed the north bank. It was higher and more wholesome and offered better pasturage and fewer Indians than the beaten trail, and the Mormons were desirous, moreover, to avoid coming into conflict with Missourians and other troublesome emigrants. Their order of march was like that of disciplined troops.

Every man walked with his gun loaded and powder-horn ready, the wagons were kept well together, and an advance-guard determined the most practicable road and looked out for buffalo and marauding Indians. The night encampment was a model of its kind. The wagons were drawn into a semi-circle, with diameter on the river, in such fashion that the tongues formed an awkward barricade and the fore-wheel of each wagon, interlocking with the hind wheel of the wagon in front of it, completed a substantial corral. Within this enclosure the cattle were confined, while the tents were placed outside. The night watch was intrusted to experienced men only.

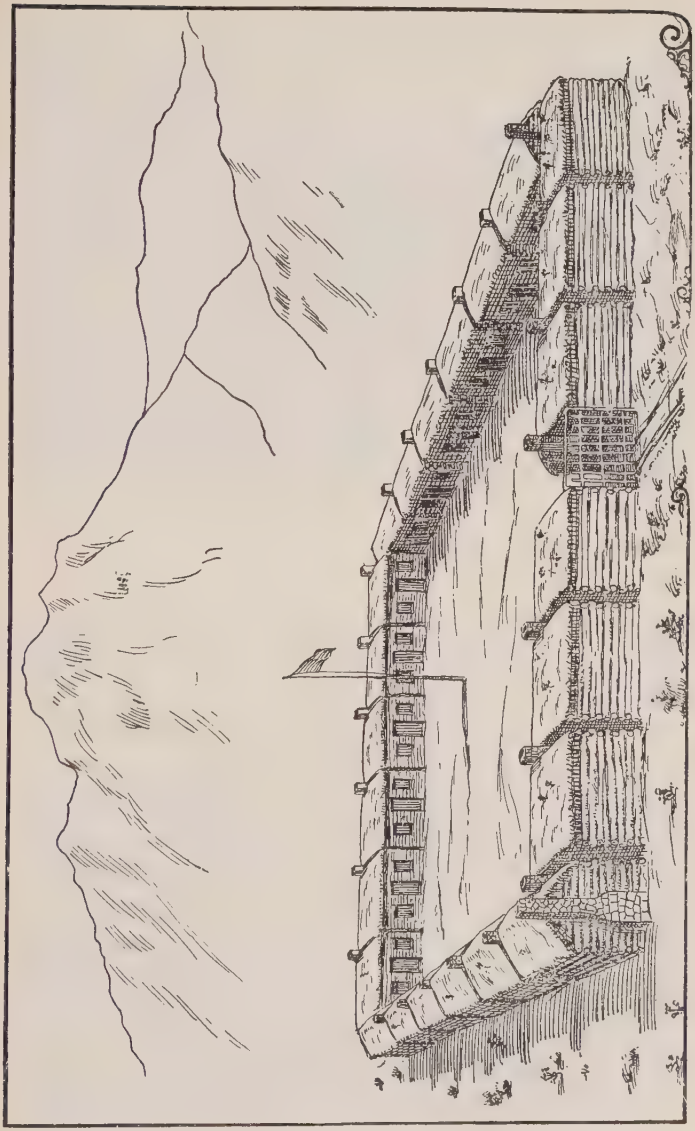
Early in June the little army reached Fort Laramie, the former trading post at the foot of the Black Hills, and here they halted to build rafts for the crossing of the North Platte and to dry meat for the mountain journey. Here, too, they secured a considerable addition to their scanty stock of food as compensation for the service rendered a party destined for Oregon, who were glad to make use of the impromptu ferry. At Fort Laramie, Young left a detachment of nine men to maintain the ferry as a means of obtaining money and supplies from the Oregonians and for the use of the Mormon emigrants when they should arrive. Once over South Pass and on westward-flowing water, the "pioneers" turned south from the Oregon Trail and, following down the Big Sandy, came to the Green River, over which they rafted the wagons. Black's Fork led them to Fort Bridger, which Orson Pratt describes as "two ad-

First View of Great Salt Lake from the Pass.

joining log houses, with dirt roofs, and a small picket yard of logs set in the ground, about eight feet high. The number of men, squaws and half-breed children in these houses and [the surrounding] lodges may be about fifty or sixty." Colonel Bridger gave a most discouraging account of the agricultural possibilities of the Cordilleran area. The "whole region was sandy and destitute of timber and vegetation except the sage brush." He knew exceptions, such as Bear Valley, Cache Valley, and the Willamette, but these fertile oases were preëmpted either by white men or Indians. There was a "good country" south of Utah Lake where the Indians were producing "as good corn and wheat and pumpkins as was ever raised in old Kentucky," and twenty days' march farther south the aborigines grew any quantity of the "very best wheat";[3] but he was ready to offer $1000 for the first ear of corn grown in the Great Basin. Concluding that they would not turn back until they had seen the country for themselves, the "pioneers" pushed on, directly west, and found their way, with considerable difficulty, to Echo Cañon and across the range to Emigration Cañon,—a narrow defile that opens on to the *mesa* overlooking Salt Lake Valley. Two small rivers flowing down from the Wasatch Range made this seem a promising location, and here within two hours of their arrival (July 23) the advance-guard began to plough for a belated planting. The baked earth was hard as iron, and several of the shares were broken in the attempt to turn a furrow. To soften the soil, they dammed the creek and directed the flow over the land. The device worked

satisfactorily and was used there after, not only to soften the soil, but to moisten the seed. The damming of City Creek marked the beginning of irrigation in the Great Basin. Pueblo Indians and their Spanish successors had practised irrigation in New Mexico, after inherited methods ; but that Yankee farmers and English artisans should have hit upon the process with their first planting argues a high degree of ingenuity. During the month of August, some eighty acres were planted to corn and potatoes. The wheat crop was a failure because planted too late to ripen, but enough potatoes were gathered to furnish seed for the coming year. Shelter was quite as important as food, and men were sent to bring down timber from the mountains for the construction of a fort.[4] A pit-saw was soon erected, and some thirty houses were built of logs and adobe in four blocks so as to form a hollow square ten acres in extent. The outside walls were perforated with loopholes only, and all doors and windows opened on the court, after the fashion of a palisaded fort in frontier Kentucky.

On the seventeenth of August, less than a month after the arrival of the "pioneers," a company of seventy men was sent back to meet the main body of the refugees and escort them over the mountains. The "first emigration" comprised 1553 men, women, and children. Their live stock consisted of 2213 cattle, 124 horses, 887 cows, 358 sheep, with a few hogs and chickens. This great train with its 566 prairie schooners set out from Elkhorn River on the fourth of July and arrived at Salt Lake on the twenty-seventh of September in good health and without serious mishap.



Log Fort, Springville.

Once in the valley, the way-worn emigrants encountered a staggering disappointment. The prospect as they descended Emigration Cañon was beautiful as scenery, but it did not promise much in the way of sustenance. The plain was a waste of sage-brush, over which floated a heat mirage distorting distant objects. The ground was white with alkali and infested with black crickets, lizards, and rattlesnakes. Only along the creeks flowing down from the mountains was there any green, and here grew nothing but cottonwood, willow, and scrub-oak. Trees suitable for building — ash, maple, fir, and pine — were back in the cañons, eight or ten miles distant from the site of the city, and the only pasturage was the bunch grass that covered the *mesa*. Return was unthinkable, however, and the Saints resolutely set to work, determined to force the desert to yield them a living. Those who had arrived too late to secure cabins, dug caves in the dry earth or placed the covered wagon beds upon the ground and used them for shelter. The rainy season was cold and uncomfortable, but it reassured them as to the chances of agriculture.

The city was soon laid out in wide streets and house lots of an acre and a quarter each. Five-acre lots were surveyed in the suburbs as garden plots for the mechanics. Beyond were the farm lots of ten, forty, and eighty acres, increasing with distance from the population center. After the initial year of common cultivation, these lands were assigned to all comers as equitably as might be, each man drawing for his portion of the general inheritance. To

Emigration Cañon.

The Wasatch Range, above Provo.

the leaders who had plural wives and large families, a proportionate holding was awarded. Ten-acre lots were reserved for the temple and for public parks. As the Danes "roped out" their arable lands in conquered Anglia, so these conquerors of the desert divided to each man his portion. Claims were based on need and use. Brigham Young is reported as saying "that no man should buy land who came here; that he had none to sell; but every man should have his land measured out to him for city and farming purposes. He might till it as he pleased, but he must be industrious and take care of it." [5] In the First General Epistle issued in the autumn of 1849, the president stated: "A field of eight thousand acres has been surveyed south of and bordering on the city. The five and ten acre lots are distributed to the brethren by casting lots, and every man is to build a pole, ditch, or stone fence as shall be most convenient, around the whole field in proportion to the land he draws; also a canal on the east side for the purpose of irrigation." A quite similar apportionment of land and labor was customary in colonial New England. The common fence and the common ditch and the common pasture (to which the cows were driven by a common herder) were not the effect of Owenism or Fourierism or any of the contemporary communistic theories, but the dictates of common-sense and brotherly coöperation.

The same union of effort was evidenced in the setting up of a pit-saw and the building of the first saw- and grist-mills. The water-power of the mountain streams was rapidly utilized, and sixteen sawmills

and eleven grist-mills were completed by the spring of 1850.[6] Irrigating canals, mill-dams, roads, and bridges would have been impossible without such coöperation. The so-called "public works" were accomplished by labor furnished as equivalent for the tithes due from all church members and offered by assisted emigrants in return for transportation. So were built on Temple Block the first shops for carpenters, blacksmiths, and machinists. Here, and by contributed labor, was forged and cast the machinery used in the flour and lumber mills, also carding machines, fanning mills and farm tools,—the iron being taken from the hubs and tires of discarded wagons. Later, when produce and even money began to be brought to the tithing office, laborers were hired and paid in food and clothing, and many a successful business man was helped to his start in life by employment on the public works. The directing genius of all these enterprises was Brigham Young. Never had a great colonizer so free a hand. His word was law, and his requisitions were complied with in Scripture measure. Not even the founder of Pennsylvania had more definite plans for his ideal city or was more autocratic in determining the business undertakings of the people who came to the New World under his auspices.

In March of 1848 the population of Salt Lake City was 1671; 423 houses had been put up, and there were 5000 acres under cultivation (500 being planted to wheat); the outlook for the future was full of promise. Then befell a staggering calamity. A "plague of locusts" overspread the land and threat-

Salt Lake City in 1849.
Looking east.

Salt Lake City in 1853.
Looking south.

ened to destroy the crops. The people combated their advance with every conceivable device, but it was a losing fight. They had given up the struggle in despair, when lo ! a great flock of gulls came up from the lake and gorged themselves upon the enemy. To the half-starved Saints this seemed a miracle, but it was fortunately a miracle that happened every year. The remnant of the crops was saved, though barely enough to carry the "pioneers" and the summer's accession of three thousand emigrants through the next winter. This was the Mormons' "starving time." Frost and snow were exceptionally severe that year, and fuel was scarce. The stock of flour ran so low that from February to July the ration was three-quarters of a pound per head per day. Many families were reduced to digging the roots of the sego lily for food, and a rawhide broth was made from old buffalo robes. Word was sent to Winter Quarters that no emigrants should be forwarded the coming season who were not fully self-sustaining, and that these must bring several months' supply of bread-stuffs.

Even so, the colony might have perished but for a quite unforeseen event; viz., the discovery of gold in the Sacramento Valley. The first gold-seekers arrived at Salt Lake in August, 1849, and the Mormon settlement soon became the halfway station on the overland route to California and an important trading post. In their wild race to be first in the field, the "forty-niners" were ready to make any sacrifice. Fresh horses and mules were purchased at ten times their eastern value, while the jaded animals of the pack

trains, often of excellent breed, were abandoned or sold for a song. Flour brought $25 per hundredweight, and the labor of skilled mechanics — blacksmiths and wheelwrights — rose to $3 a day. On the other hand, "States goods," unobtainable hitherto at any price, sold at New York rates, or even less. Merchants who had stocked up for the California trade, hearing that goods were being sent round the Horn, were glad to dispose of their merchandise in this certain market. Money, thus far the scarcest of commodities, began to circulate. The awkward produce payments and the promissory notes issued by the apostles were no longer necessary. A transportation enterprise was organized under the auspices of the church, the Great Salt Lake Valley Carrying Company, for the conveyance of passengers and freight from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast, and proved very profitable. The rate for passengers was $300 each and for goods, $250 per ton.

President Young did not intend his people to become dependent on the outside world. The difficulty of maintaining a colony divided from any market by one thousand miles of wagon trail was far greater than on the seaboard within reach of supply ships, and from the start the Mormons understood that they must be self-sustaining. Cloth and blankets were woven on hand-looms, the wool being carded and spun by the thrifty housewives. Not only shoes and boots, but clothes, were made of deer and elk skins. The brine of the lake yielded from one-third to one-fourth its weight in salt, and this necessity of life was hauled by the wagon-load from works set up on the shore.

A supply was even sent back to Winter Quarters. The soda springs a few miles to the north were made to serve another prime need. Sugar was not a product of the desert, but Old World experience suggested that saccharine might be obtained from corn or from beets. A crushing mill was built from the funds of the church in 1855, the machinery being welded out of scrap iron. Under the same benign auspices, a tannery, a pottery, a woollen mill, and a nail factory were soon in operation, and a railroad was built up the cañon to bring stone from a distant quarry. Bishops were accustomed to instruct their flocks in the economical administration of their farms and to read in public a list of those who were to be commended for superior husbandry, fencing and other improvements, — also a black list of the "idle, slothful and unimproving portion of the community, who were held up to reprobation, and threatened, in default of certain tasks allotted them being finished at the next visit, to be deprived of their lots and expelled the community." [7]

An agricultural society was established for the purpose of instructing the new-comers in the methods of irrigation, making experiments in fruits and vegetables, and offering prizes to the most successful farmers. The territorial assembly (1855) offered prizes for the largest crop of flaxseed, hemp, flower seed, etc., grown on a half acre of ground, and a reward of $1000 was offered (1854) to the discoverer of a bed of merchantable coal within feasible reach of Salt Lake City. Rewards were proposed, also, for the manufacture of rifle powder from materials found in the

territory,—$100 for the first hundred pounds, $100 for the second, $50 for the third, and so on till two thousand pounds should be put upon the market. Moreover, capital was encouraged to invest in the region by liberal terms of incorporation. The Deseret Iron Company was chartered in 1853 in the hope of developing the mineral resources of the Escallante Valley, and the church and the territorial government took $10,000 worth of stock. The Provo Manufacturing Company was authorized (1853) to raise a capital of $1,000,000 and to employ it "in such manufactures as they shall deem best * * * and for the erection and maintenance of such machinery, dams, buildings, races, watercourses, bridges, roads, etc.," as might serve their purpose.

Labor adequate to all these enterprises was insured by a steady stream of immigrants. The Perpetual Emigration Fund was organized (1849) for the purpose of assisting needy Saints to reach the city of their hopes. The sum of $5000 was raised at Salt Lake in 1849, and $35,000 was collected abroad in the next five years. The expenses of transportation were reduced to a minimum, and the recipient of aid was expected to restore the sum to the treasury as soon as possible, in order that others of the world's poor might enjoy a like benefit.[8]

In 1855 disaster again befell the infant colony. Grasshoppers swarmed the fields and threatened to be as destructive as the "crickets" had been. The following winter was unusually severe. The poorer families were reduced to rations of roots and rawhide, and great was the suffering in the frail wagon

"Gathering to Zion." Life by the Way.

The Handcart Emigrants in a Storm.

tents. The Emigration Fund was by this time so depleted that a cheaper method of transportation was proposed. The emigrants were to cross the Plains on foot, pushing their belongings in hand-carts, and the charge for the journey from Liverpool to Salt Lake on these terms was reduced from £15 to £9 with half rates for infants in arms. In the summer of 1856, thirteen hundred people were sent over the Mormon Trail in five different companies, — the so-called "hand-cart brigades." To each hundred were allotted five tents, twenty hand-carts, and one wagon drawn by three yoke of oxen. Tents and general supplies were stowed in the wagon, but each family carried its own rations and its quota of the sick and helpless in the hand-cart, while women and children, from the toddlers to the aged, walked the weary road (a three months' tramp) from Winter Quarters to the Valley. The first three companies suffered no more than the inevitable hardships, but the two last, delayed by the scarcity of carts until mid-August, suffered terribly from hunger and drought, were overtaken by heavy snow-storms in the mountains, and the loss of life was great. The news of this disaster, together with discouraging reports concerning crops, etc., checked the emigration movement. It never again reached the proportions of 1855, and the hand-cart experiment was not repeated.

In the fifteen years between 1840 and 1854, twenty-two thousand Mormons took ship for America, three-fourths of this number after 1848. The bulk of these people came from Great Britain. At Liverpool, an authorized agent of the church chartered the ships

and sold the tickets, commissioning one or more elders to take charge of the emigrants *en route*. These were responsible for good order and cleanliness, and we have abundant testimony to the effect that the personnel of these companies was higher and their standards of health and conduct much better than on the ordinary passenger steamers.[9] If the port was New York or Philadelphia, the emigrants went over the Alleghanies to the Ohio River and thence by boat to St. Louis; but the more economical, and therefore the more usual, route was by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to St. Louis or Keokuk, Independence or the Bluffs,—whatever point of departure for the overland journey might have been determined on. At each transfer was an agent who looked after the comfort of the emigrants and furnished them with the necessary supplies. For the journey across the Plains, a carrying company was organized which was ready to transport passengers and luggage as well as ordinary freight at reasonable charges. This did away with the necessity of buying oxen and wagons at these congested points, where the demand was always in excess of the supply. In this service and in the retailing of oxen, wagons, and food to inexperienced foreigners, there was abundant opportunity for maltreatment and speculation; but the representatives of the church seem, as a rule, to have performed their duties with commendable ability and uprightness. It was, taken all in all, the most successful example of regulated immigration in United States history.

The march of this motley multitude was managed by an organization suggestive of that under which the Angles and Saxons migrated to Britain. The people were divided and subdivided into hundreds and fifties and tens, the natural attachments of kinship and neighborhood being observed, and to each division was assigned a responsible captain. Each hundred was to provide itself with oxen, carts, and all needed supplies. For a party of ten, a wagon, two milch cows, and a tent was the standard requirement.[10] Each was to send forward pioneers to plant crops and build houses, each was to care for its proportion of "the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army." [11] Military order was observed on the march and in the encampments, the several officers taking turns at guard duty about the improvised corral. On this plan were organized all the Mormon companies that crossed the Plains for the next thirty years, until the Union Pacific Railway was carried through to Ogden. Thorough discipline and mutual aid were the means by which one hundred thousand people, the majority of them women and children, were conducted over one thousand miles of desert and mountain with a minimum of loss in life and property.

The original source of this extraordinary migration was Nauvoo, but later accessions came from the Eastern and Southern states, from England, Wales, Scotland, and Scandinavia. The fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century proved an epoch of misery and unrest, when the poor of every land were seeking escape from political and industrial oppres-

sion, and no solution of their difficulties was too transcendental for credence. The wretched operatives of Manchester and Birmingham, workmen in the potteries of Staffordshire, miners of the Lancashire collieries, the struggling artisans of London, the landless peasants of Scotland, the superfluous population of Norway, caught eagerly at this opportunity to secure earthly prosperity and eternal salvation at one stroke. Thousands accepted the Mormon faith and prepared to migrate to the promised land with the vaguest notion of the chances and hardships involved. By far the greater number were farmers and mechanics of the better class who had the means to remove to the land of opportunity. A large proportion, according to official statistics of the British government, were skilled laborers who carried with them the tools needed to pursue their occupation. The amount of hold luggage brought to the dock by Mormon passengers was a common complaint of ships' captains, who avowed that the vessel lay an inch deeper in the water on this account. The migration agents were directed by the church authorities "to seek diligently in every branch [of their British church] for wise, skilful and ingenious mechanics, manufacturers, potters, etc." [12] The emigrants were advised to bring with them tools and machinery, or designs of machinery, textile and otherwise, that they might set up their several crafts in the Valley. From time to time President Young announced the industries most needed in the commonwealth beyond the Rockies, *e.g.* "We want a company of woollen manufacturers to come with

machinery, and take our wool from the sheep, and convert it into the best clothes, and the wool is ready. We want a company of cotton manufacturers, who will convert cotton into cloth and calico, etc., and we will raise the cotton before the machinery can be ready. We want a company of potters; we need them. The clay is ready and the dishes wanted. Send a company of each, if possible, next spring. Silk manufacturers and all others will follow in rapid succession. We want some men to start a furnace forthwith; the coal, iron and moulders are waiting. We have a printing press, and any who can take good printing and writing paper to the Valley will be blessing themselves and the Church." [13]

Under this systematic propaganda, emigrants were arriving at the rate of two and three thousand a year, and it was evident that the narrow strip of irrigable land between the *mesa* and the lake could not sustain the growing community. Steps were taken to enlarge the borders, and exploring parties were sent out to find new locations. Wherever soil and water supply were adequate for agriculture, where there was water-power suited for milling purposes or mineral resources to be developed, "stakes" were planted. Companies of colonists were organized under trusted leaders and equipped with provisions and the implements and materials necessary to the prosecution of their industrial mission. Weber Valley to the north and Utah Valley to the south held better promise for the farmer than the shores of Salt Lake, and here a series of settlements was made. Farther south in the arid San Pete Valley, mountain streams

were found sufficient to maintain Nephi, Juab, and Manti stakes along the Spanish Trail. Cedar City

STAKES PLANTED IN ZION, 1847–1877.

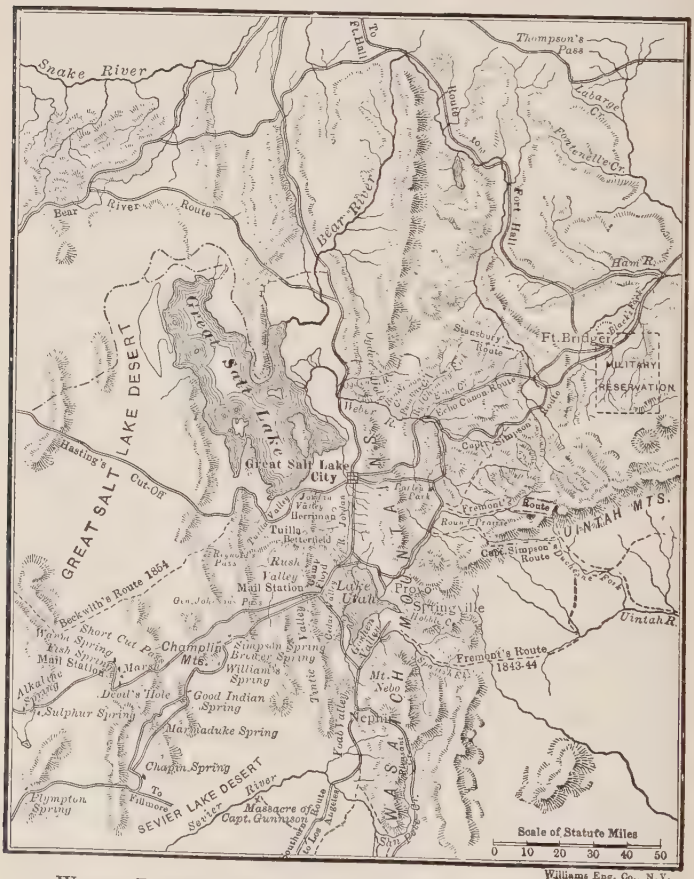
was founded, two hundred and seventy miles south of Salt Lake, for the working of the iron and coal deposits discovered there. A smelter was erected which produced a ton of metal per day, and five hundred acres were planted to wheat for the maintenance of the miners. In every case the site of the settlement and its leader were approved by President Young, and careful provision was made that adequate supplies of tools, seeds, and live stock were in the outfit and that each company included a sufficient number of artisans.

When in 1850 the State of Deseret became the Territory of Utah, there were eleven thousand people in the Valley, sixteen thousand acres of land were under cultivation, and the taxable property of the

colony amounted to $1,000,000. During the next six years, in spite of the grasshopper plague and other discouraging circumstances, the colony doubled these figures.

In the first days at Salt Lake, Brigham Young had said, "Now if they will let us alone for ten years, I'll ask no odds of them." [14] The tenth anniversary of the settlement brought the Mormon commonwealth to a trial of strength with the Federal authorities. Controversies with the "gold-seekers" over payment for supplies, claims to strayed cattle, damages for trespassing, etc., had embittered the relations between Mormon and Gentile.[15] The officials sent out from Washington were mere place-hunters, neither tactful nor wise nor, in all cases, upright, but the scandal of polygamy had shocked the moral sense of the nation. Representations forwarded to President Buchanan to the effect that United States authority was defied by the Mormons, induced him to order troops to Utah for the purpose of overawing the malcontents and inaugurating the first Gentile administration in the person of Governor Cummings. Six thousand troops were detailed for this service, and the commissariat exceeded in quantity and cost any that had ever been sent into the West. Two thousand beef cattle, as many horses and mules, and a long train of wagons were provided, with a view to an indefinite sojourn in the wilderness. The fraud and peculation practised on the government by the purveyors gave to this expedition the nickname, "the contractors' war." No negotiations had preceded this extraordinary military demonstration, and the

Saints were quite in the dark as to its mission; but the people were as one man in their determination to resist armed invasion. The Mormon militia numbered only one thousand insufficiently armed men,



Wagon Routes across the Wasatch Range, 1858–1859.

but defence of their mountain stronghold was not difficult. A force was deputed to barricade Echo Cañon, a narrow defile with precipitous walls several

hundred feet in height and the only direct access to the Valley from the east, and another was sent forward to intercept the provision trains and otherwise embarrass the advancing army. Lot Smith and his men succeeded in burning two wagon trains and in cutting out hundreds of oxen which were driven off to the Valley, while they fired the plains in the path of the troops and destroyed Fort Bridger, the first objective point.[16] So ingeniously did the Mormons make their country and climate fight for them, that General Johnson, seeing his army deprived of food and shelter and means of transportation (for the starved animals were dying by hundreds) and overtaken by furious snow-storms, was forced to abandon hope of reaching Salt Lake before spring. He made the best of a desperate situation by establishing winter quarters on Black Fork, one hundred and fifteen miles from Salt Lake City.

Meantime Governor Cummings had been induced to visit the city and treat with the Mormon officials, and a truce was agreed upon. The army was to enter the Valley, but on the understanding that private property was not to be molested and that the encampment was to be forty miles distant from any Mormon settlement.

When, however, General Johnson and Governor Cummings rode into Salt Lake City at the head of the United States troops, they found the place deserted. The inhabitants had moved to the south, to the settlements in Utah Valley and beyond, leaving only a few watchmen who were under orders to set fire to the houses, workshops, and granaries in case any hostile demonstration was made by the much

distrusted commander. Evidently Brigham Young and his people were prepared for another *trek* into the wilderness rather than submit to military rule. Not until the army was encamped in Cedar Valley (Camp Floyd) did the devoted Saints return to their homes. In the end, the presence of the army proved a material blessing, since the demand for grain, cattle, and labor was enormously increased. During the two years of its sojourn in Utah, the Mormon farmers enjoyed a good market at high prices, and many an impoverished emigrant got work at the Fort at wages hitherto unknown in the Valley. When at the outbreak of the Civil War, the troops were withdrawn, great quantities of military supplies were sold for a song or abandoned. Goods valued at $4,000,000 were sold for $100,000.

Because of their peculiar social and industrial order, the Mormon settlements have been misrepresented to an extraordinary degree. Most of the first-hand authorities are either Mormon or anti-Mormon, and in neither case can the record be relied upon. The recounting of the simplest facts is likely to be colored by prejudice — even distorted beyond recognition. Fortunately for the impartial historian, however, the commonwealth was visited during the first ten years of its existence by several travellers whose fair-mindedness and powers of observation can hardly be called in question. A summary of their conclusions seems essential to an unbiased estimate of the economic results of the Mormon migration.

A "forty-niner" described Salt Lake City thus:

"The houses are small, principally of brick, built up only as temporary abodes, until the more urgent and important matter of enclosure and cultivation are attended to; but I never saw anything to surpass the ingenuity of arrangement with which they are fitted up, and the scrupulous cleanliness with which they are kept. There were tradesmen and artisans of all descriptions, but no regular stores, or workshops, except forges. Still, from the shoeing of a wagon to the mending of a watch, there was no difficulty experienced in getting it done, as cheap and as well put out of hand as in any other city in America. Notwithstanding the oppressive temperature, they were all hard at work at their trades, and abroad in the fields weeding, moulding, and irrigating; and it certainly speaks volumes for their energy and industry, to see the quantity of land they have fenced in, and the breadth under cultivation. . . . There was ample promise of an abundant harvest, in magnificent crops of wheat, maize, potatoes, and every description of garden vegetable, all of which require irrigation, as there is little or no rain in this region, a Salt Lake shower being estimated at a drop to each inhabitant. They have numerous herds of the finest cattle, droves of excellent sheep, with horses and mules enough and to spare, but very few pigs, persons having them being obliged to keep them chained, as the fences are not close enough to prevent them damaging the crops. However, they have legions of superior poultry, so that they live in the most plentiful manner possible. We exchanged and purchased

some mules and horses on very favorable terms, knowing we would stand in need of strong teams in crossing the Sierra Nevada." [17]

Captain Howard Stansbury of the United States Topographical Survey was sent to Utah in 1849 to explore Salt Lake and its immediate environs. It was a difficult task because of the desolate character of the "Great Briny Shallow," whose periphery of mud flats, twenty miles back from the shores, afforded neither wood nor water nor game sufficient to maintain an exploring expedition. Success depended upon the interested coöperation of the white settlers of the valley. The first Mormons were encountered at Brown's settlement on the Weber, "an extensive assemblage of log buildings, picketed, stockaded, and surrounded by out-buildings and cattle yards, the whole affording evidence of comfort and abundance far greater than I had expected to see in so new a settlement." [18] Here the party met with a surly reception and were even refused food and shelter. The unexpected rebuff was later explained by the fact that Brown doubted if the United States government would recognize the validity of his Spanish title and lived in dread of the appearance of land office agents. When Stansbury had opportunity to state the purpose of his expedition to Brigham Young, he was assured of all the aid the struggling community was able to give. Stansbury's was the first party of white men to make the circuit of the lake by land, and he attributed this achievement in good part to the help and comfort freely rendered him by the Mor-

mons. The winter of 1849–1850 was spent in the city of the Saints, and his relations with the officials were such as to give him abundant opportunity to observe the unique economy of the new Zion. Houses were scarce, and many of the people were still living in wagon beds; but food was abundant, and considerable enterprises such as mills and bridges and toll roads were well under way. Stansbury credits the Mormon brethren with a high standard of commercial morality, stating that in no instance had fraud or extortion been practised upon his party. Prices for farm produce were moderate and quality good. The not infrequent difficulties between the settlers and the gold-seekers were generally, in his opinion, occasioned by disregard of property rights and of municipal regulations on the part of the lawless element in the emigrant trains. The offenders who were arrested and fined, or even, in default of payment, forced to labor in the public works by the church authorities, vigorously protested this alien jurisdiction. Brigham Young, Stansbury describes as a man of keen good sense, fully alive to the responsibilities of his station and indefatigable in devising ways and means for the moral, mental, and physical uplifting of his people. The almost universal prosperity of this farming community, only two years remove from the sage-brush, Stansbury attributed to (1) the high degree of industry and intelligence observable in the settlers, precisely the most vigorous and enterprising of the denizens of the British Isles, (2) the prudence and sagacity of the leaders whose arrange-

ments for the journey to Salt Lake City and for the industrial welfare of its people were most business-like, (3) the discipline of the rank and file who rendered implicit obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, (4) the spirit of coöperation, — of individual contribution to the common good, which was the fundamental principle of this extraordinary society. Every man paid tithes of produce and of labor to the church officials, in addition to the taxes levied by the civil government. Notwithstanding this double burden, every one was prosperous. There were literally no paupers. A proposal to establish a poorhouse had been abandoned because of the evident lack of patronage. Some part of this happy exemption was due to the systematic aid given by the church to newly arrived emigrants, some part, no doubt, to the fact that intoxicating liquors were scarce and dear. Whiskey retailed at $8 per gallon and brandy at $12, because of the heavy duty (fifty per cent) on the imported article.

On his return trip through Echo Cañon Stansbury met a Mormon caravan of ninety-five wagons, each furnished with from three to five yoke of oxen, all in fine condition. "The wagons swarmed with women and children," and poultry coops were swung on behind. "I estimated the train at one thousand head of cattle, one hundred head of sheep, and five hundred human souls." [19] A little later, on the upper Platte (September, 1850), Stansbury reports "crowds of emigrant-wagons, wending their way to the Mormon Valley, with droves of cattle and sheep, whose fat and thriving condition, after so long a

journey, was the subject of general remark, and excited universal admiration." [20]

To Lieutenant Gunnison, his very efficient second in command, Stansbury deputed the study of the religious and social features of the Mormon state, and to his treatise, *The Mormons or Latter Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*,[21] the reader is referred as a conscientious endeavor to see and tell the exact truth in regard to many controverted points. Gunnison advised the let-alone policy (the policy later urged by Abraham Lincoln) as the method by which the infant commonwealth would most surely slough off its errors of faith and practice. He believed that the strength of the theocracy was enhanced by persecution. With peace, prosperity, and education, its power would inevitably disintegrate.

Five years after the Stansbury party left the State of Deseret, the Valley was visited by Jules Remy, a French naturalist, who, being something of a philosopher as well, ventured the voyage from Honolulu and the journey across the desert for the sake of observing with his own eyes this extraordinary development of religious fanaticism. To the Frenchman, "Joseph Smith was a cheat and an impostor" and "Mormonism was the coarsest form of Mysticism"; but he was forced to concede the extraordinary success of this new industrial order. Here was a community of sixty thousand people representing fifteen different nationalities — Britons, Canadians, Americans, Scandinavians, Germans — by no means the most temperate or least quarrel-

some of races; but Remy was struck with the "order, the tranquillity and industry" of the inhabitants and the cleanliness and comfort of their dwellings.[22] "Neither grog shops, gaming-houses, nor brothels are to be met with." While the Mormons did not abstain from the temperate use of liquors (whiskey distilled from wheat or potatoes, and beer brewed from the hops grown in the Valley), there was no drunkenness. He was struck, too, with the marvellous activity of the seven-year-old city, not only in the Temple Block, where "emigrants who have newly arrived, as well as residents who are without employment apply for work," but in the outlying wards. "The whole of this small nation occupy themselves as usefully as the working bees of a hive. . . . The idle or unemployed are not to be met with here." [23] The extraordinary material achievements of the modern Zion were, to his mind, not the result of communism, but of patriotism. Each man put forth his utmost effort under the threefold necessity of preserving alive himself, his family, and the commonwealth.

Brigham Young, Remy thought a coarse, uneducated man, but a leader of remarkable shrewdness and force. His ability was acknowledged even by those Gentiles who denounced Mormonism as a poisonous gangrene. The Gentiles, of whom there were not more than one hundred in the city, were not the best element of the population. They were merchants, physicians, and Federal officers, all superfluous vocations from the Mormon point of view, and a motley collection of vagabonds, "coming no

one knew whence, living no one knew how, mostly at the expense of travellers and the Mormons themselves." [24] The Saints were not infrequently charged with the crimes committed by these lawless characters, and while Remy recognized, as did his Mormon informants, that there were many ne'er-do-weels clinging to the skirts of the mountain state, he came to the conclusion that the rank and file were "industrious, honest, sober, pious, and . . . even chaste in their polygamic relations." [25]

It is interesting to put alongside this French estimate of the Mormon commonwealth the observations of two English travellers who perhaps better understood a people in whom the Teutonic blood so largely dominated. William Chandless, though a man of education and substance, crossed the Plains with a cattle train, serving as an ordinary teamster, in the summer of 1855. He had frequent opportunity to observe the admirable order of the Mormon caravans, and attributed this to the devotion of their leaders. The drivers of ordinary teams were paid more than the Mormons in the ratio of five to three, but they were a far inferior type of men. "It was a pretty sight to watch them [a Mormon caravan] starting off for the day's march; great numbers of women and children walking in advance gaily, the little ones picking flowers, the boys looking for grapes or plums if there were trees near, and the mothers knitting as they went; all seemed willing to endure hardship, looking upon the journey as a pilgrimage to the promised land, where they should have rest." [26] After three months' experience of all types of plains

men, Chandless came to the conclusion that the Mormons were as good Christians as the others. As a whole, they were a "good plain, honest sort of people, simple-minded, but not fools, nor yet altogether uneducated; an omnium gatherum from half-a-dozen nations, containing many excellent artisans and some tradespeople, along with a large number of mere laborers and some few men of talent and cultivation." [27] Chandless thought Salt Lake Valley not a promising site for a colony, but unexcelled as a refuge from persecution. The settlers were thrifty and industrious and had apparently made the best of their scanty opportunities. Marvels had been accomplished in spite of the scarcity of fuel and raw materials and the double burden of tithes and taxes.

Richard F. Burton, a world traveller, made the journey from St. Joseph to Salt Lake more luxuriously in the mail coach (1859); but he saw, none the less, much of the Mormon emigrants. He, too, noted the excellent discipline of their camps, and thought that their equipment did credit to the Perpetual Emigration Fund's travelling arrangements. The hand-cart brigade was a thing of the past. Many of this year's emigrants had purchased their own outfits at a cost of $500 per family. In the earlier stages of the route there was no hardship; but once in the mountains, the lack of food and water began to exhaust the strength of the feebler members of the party. On Ham's Fork, Burton's record is: "We had now fallen into the regular track of Mormon emigration, and saw the wayfarers in their worst

plight, near the end of the journey. We passed several families, and parties of women and children trudging wearily along; most of the children were in rags or half nude, and all showed gratitude when we threw them provisions." [28] Once in the Valley and under the care of their co-religionists, the emigrants had every prospect of success. "Morally and spiritually, as well as physically, the *protegés* of the Perpetual Emigration Fund gain by being transferred to the Far West. Mormonism is emphatically the faith of the poor, and those acquainted with the wretched condition of the English mechanic, collier, and agricultural laborer . . . who, after a life of ignoble drudgery, . . . are ever threatened with the work house, must be of the same opinion. Physically speaking, there is no comparison between the conditions of the Saints and the class from which they are mostly taken. In point of mere morality, the Mormon community is perhaps purer than any other of equal numbers." "Furthermore, the Mormon settlement was a vast improvement upon its contemporaries in the valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri." [29]

Traces of the Utah War were still evident in the breastworks and barricades along Echo Cañon and in the general uneasiness of the people. Governor Cummings seemed to Burton a man of ability and uprightness, a finer type of man than had been previously sent out by the Federal government; but he had the peacemaker's ungrateful task. "The scrupulous and conscientious impartiality which he has brought to the discharge of his difficult and

delicate duties, and, more still, his resolution to treat the Saints like Gentiles and citizens, not as Digger Indians or felons, have won him scant favor from either party." [30] Brigham Young impressed him as rude and uncouth, but sincere. "Of his temperance and sobriety there is but one opinion. His life is ascetic." He was accustomed to lecture his people on their sins with a plainness of speech and an energy of invective that were Cromwellian. An extract from a sermon printed in the *Mormon Expositor* is cited: "That man that sells liquor and believes that he must, I will promise him damnation for it. That man that makes liquor and gives it to his neighbor, he shall have his reward in Hell."

Captain Simpson of the United States Topographical Survey, who passed through Salt Lake and Utah valleys in 1859 and 1860, reports on the character of the outlying settlements. The toll roads were excellent and the bridges adequate, but he thought the adobe villages with their decaying earthworks slovenly and thriftless. "The generality of the houses is far below in character what obtains among the poorest of our population in the States. The roofs are generally of mud, and give frequent evidences of tumbling in; and the doors and windows all indicate penury and an inattention to cleanliness." These villages "are all inhabited by farmers, who cultivate the land contiguous to the town, and the yards are filled with the implements of husbandry, stacks of wheat and hay; and in the evening, during harvest, there is to be seen a constant succession of wagons, filled with the produce

Adobe House with Thatched Roof and Wattled Fence.

A Mormon House at Provo, Utah.

of the field, and cattle driven in for security. The inhabitants send out their cattle in herds to pasture, the herdsman passing in the morning from one end of the town to the other, and as he does so, sounding his horn as a signal for the owners to turn their stock into the general herd. The charge is about two cents per animal per day." [31] The Mormons were planting colonies in the remote mountain valleys where rich meadowland furnished excellent pasturage and hay for winter feed. In Round Prairie at the head of Provo Cañon, a little settlement of ten families sprang up between Captain Simpson's first and second traverse of the mountains. Garland Hurt, Indian agent for the Territory, furnished Simpson with a table of "Population and Industries" from which it appears that there were at that time in Utah twenty-eight "stakes" and a population of forty-two thousand eight hundred. Salt Lake City was estimated to have a population of eight thousand, Provo four thousand, Cedar City, Ogden, Springville, and Spanish Fork, two thousand each. The cultivated area (43,400 acres) was a little more than an acre per capita of the population, and the twenty-eight towns had built twenty-seven flour mills and eighteen sawmills.

The Mormons in California

The original destination of the Mormon hegira was quite indefinite. Somewhere beyond the mountains that bounded the territory of the United States, in the region described by the fur traders and latterly by Fremont, the explorer, there must

be a land where a new and free commonwealth could be built. California was already a name to conjure with, and especially Upper California,—a term then used to include everything north of Sonora and west of the Rockies. The Latter Day Saints were accustomed to sing:—

> "The Upper California, oh, that's the land for me,
> It lies between the mountains and the great Pacific Sea!"

So while Brigham Young was organizing the *trek* from Nauvoo, Samuel Brannan, the leader of the Saints in the East, was preparing to lead his flock to California by sea. In February, 1846, the *Brooklyn* sailed from New York with two hundred and thirty-five emigrants on board and an ample stock of farm implements, seeds, etc., and machinery for saw- and grist-mills. They had reason to believe that their prospects of success were better than those of the overland contingent, for it was understood that President Polk favored the enterprise as a means of Americanizing the coveted territory. On the outbreak of the Mexican War, the president called upon the Mormons on the Missouri to furnish a battalion. The call came at a time (August, 1846) when every able-bodied man was needed for the march across the Plains; but it was deemed all-important to give the government this proof of loyalty, and five hundred men were sent, without protest, to join General Kearney's command. The Mormon Battalion served under Colonel Cooke, who was deputed to open a wagon road from Santa Fé to the Pacific, and he paid a high tribute to the *morale* of the men. "Much

credit is due to the battalion for the cheerful and faithful manner in which they have accomplished the great labors of this march, and submitted to its exposures and privations," [32] and his words were reënforced by General Mason, who would have been glad to reënlist them. Once arrived in San Diego, however, finding the war at an end, the Saints were eager to rejoin their families. Each man received forty dollars in bounty and was allowed to retain his uniform and firearms. They found a ready market for labor in California, and thus when, in small parties and by different routes, they made their way back to the colony at Salt Lake, they were none the worse for their brief military experience, and had accumulated some welcome cash.[33]

Meantime, the *Brooklyn* was voyaging round the Horn and, at the end of six months, arrived in the harbor of San Francisco to find, to Brannan's amazement and dismay, the United States flag floating over Yerba Buena. Brannan speedily adjusted himself to the situation, apostatized, and entered into some profitable business enterprises. Others secured employment with Captain Sutter and were working on the mill-race at Coloma when the first gold was discovered there. Tradition has it that some of these men went back across the mountains to Salt Lake City, driving donkeys loaded with gold dust. Certain it is that the first coins authorized by the State of Deseret were struck from California gold, ninety-four thousand ounces of which were turned into the treasury of the church.

The gold fever was steadily discouraged by the

apostles at Salt Lake, for they feared it would demoralize the colony. Brigham Young said in his trenchant way, "If we were to go to San Francisco and dig up chunks of gold, it would ruin us," and he succeeded in persuading his people that there was more certain wealth in the sage-brush *mesas* of the Valley. The commercial opportunities afforded by the gold craze were, however, utilized to the full. Cattle were driven to the Coast, and the returning mule trains brought potatoes and grain and other needed supplies. A stake was planted at the eastern base of the Sierras (Genoa, Nevada) as a halfway station for the muleteers.

The agricultural possibilities of California were not ignored by the long-headed business men at the helm of this great colonizing enterprise. It was hoped that a less difficult route than the overland trail might be developed; viz. across the Isthmus of Panama, by ship to San Diego, and thence *via* Las Vegas and the Sevier River to Salt and Utah lakes. A large emigration with one hundred and fifty wagons was sent over the Spanish Trail to found the settlement of San Bernardino just below Cajon Pass, and the towns of Provo, Springville, Paysan, and Manti were founded as depots of supplies. Laguna Beach was the receiving station at San Diego.

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

SECTION I

Traders and Trappers

ARGUELLO'S hospitality to trading vessels from Boston opened up trade relations between California and the United States and led to the domiciling of various American citizens in this outlying province of Mexico. The first American settlers were merchants, such as Gale and Cooper of Monterey, Abel Stearns of Los Angeles, W. G. Dana and Alfred Robinson of Santa Barbara, Nathan Spear, William H. Davis and Captain Hinckley of Yerba Buena. They readily ingratiated themselves with the Californians by becoming naturalized, adopting the Roman Catholic religion, and marrying *hijas del pais*. Their superior business ability soon secured them wealth and influence. Less known, but no less influential in the Americanization of California, were the sailors and mechanics who, year by year, deserted the whalers and the hide ships and found refuge with the hospitable natives. They had no difficulty in maintaining themselves in a country where skilled labor was so scarce.

Another current of American influence was furnished by the hunting parties that made their way over the Sierras to the beaver streams along their

western slopes. Tradition has it that, in 1822, Arguello sent an expedition up the Sacramento to the foothills of the Sierras to ascertain the truth of a report brought in by the Indians that a number of white men clad in leather and carrying long guns were in hiding there. Whatever the foundation of the rumor, his troopers failed to find the invaders. Four years later, Jedidiah Smith crossed the Mohave Desert to San Gabriel Mission and trapped the length of the San Joaquin Valley. Repeating the daring adventure in 1827, he was forced by the suspicious authorities of Monterey to leave the country. The luckless Patties crossed the Colorado Desert to San Diego in 1829, and were sentenced to solitary confinement for their pains. The son was offered five hundred cattle and as many horses, with land sufficient to maintain them, if he would settle in the country, become a Catholic and a Mexican citizen; but he indignantly refused and returned home to report the wealth and defencelessness of California. A little later W. A. Walker crossed the Great American Desert and the Sierras to Monterey, and, getting off without molestation, brought back an enthusiastic account of the chances for trader and trapper.

These daring experiments attracted imitators. Smith's heavy catch of furs revealed to Dr. McLoughlin the rich possibilities of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys and opened the way for the exploitation of the district by the Hudson's Bay Company. In the autumn of 1828, McLeod was sent south along Smith's trail for that season's hunt. He

Columbia R.
Vancouver
Columbia R.
Willamette R.
Des Chutes or Fall R.
John Day's R.
Crooked R.
Umpqua R.
North Fork
South Fork
Rogue R.
Klamath Lake
Lower Klamath L.
Klamath R.
Mt. Shasta
Klamath R.
Pitt River
Sacramento R.
Lake Tulare
Pt. Reyes
Farallones
French Camp
Yerba Buena
San José
San Joaquin R.
Santa Cruz
Monterey
Rio del Rey
Tulare L.
Williams Eng. Co., N.Y.

trapped the mountain streams with excellent success and was returning to Fort Vancouver with pack-horses loaded with beaver and land-otter skins when he was caught in the ascent of Pitt River by an unexpected fall of snow and obliged to cache his furs and hurry on in order to save his men and animals. McLeod was severely censured for this misfortune, and the following year the California district was intrusted to McKay. He ventured even to the Bay of San Francisco and took four thousand beaver along its reedy shores; but the fur was inferior in quality to that of the mountain beaver and brought only $2 a pound. The next season, Peter Skeene Ogden was transferred to this field, and under his energetic management, the Great Valley was thoroughly explored and developed. For ten years (1829–1838), a Hudson's Bay Company brigade made its annual traverse, south in the autumn and north in the spring, between Fort Vancouver and French Camp, — the post on the San Joaquin. The cavalcade was a picturesque one, formed in Indian file and led by the chief trader. "Next him rode his wife, a native woman, astride — as is common with the females — upon her pony, quite picturesquely clad. . . . Next, the clerk and his wife, much in the same manner; and so on to the officers of less importance, and the men; and finally the boys, driving the pack horses, with bales of fur one hundred and eighty pounds to each animal. The trampling of the fast-walking horses, the silvery tinkling of the small bells, rich, handsome dresses, and fine appearance of the riders, whose number amounted to sixty or seventy"

made a really patriarchal array.[1] Smith's trace soon became a well-beaten road some five hundred and fifty miles in length, but since four-fifths of it ran along the levels of the Willamette and Sacramento valleys, the journey was usually made in thirty-one days.

American trappers were not slow to avail themselves of the new hunting grounds revealed by Smith, Pattie, and Walker, and year by year larger parties appeared in the Great Valley. They no longer attempted to pack their furs over the mountains, but sold them to traders at the coast ports, and the traffic grew to considerable proportions,— from $15,000 to $20,000 a year.[2] Every trapping party was required to have a license, and the fees brought in a tidy revenue, highly gratifying to the officials; but the interlopers were for the most part a vagabond crew — frontiersmen from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri — and their influence on the Indians was demoralizing. Some of the Americans found horses and mules a more profitable game than beaver, and they had the coöperation of the natives, who were only too ready to pay off old scores by stealing live stock from the missions or from the *rancheros*. Thus there gathered in the interior valleys, lawless companies of men who made no pretence of naturalization, practised no useful vocation, and cherished both hatred and contempt for the pusillanimous Spanish rule.

The long-sought route between California and Santa Fé was opened by Americans. In 1829 Ewing Young came across the mountains from Taos,

via Escallantes' trail and Walker's Pass, with a party of trappers — Mexican and Canadian — and found Ogden in the Tulares. Venturing to Los Angeles, he became involved in a drunken riot and was forced to flee the country. He carried back to New Mexico, however, such reports of the trade possibilities of California as greatly excited the merchants of Santa Fé. Young returned in 1830 in company with William Wolfskill and J. J. Warner, bringing trappers and hunters *via* Cajon Pass for the purpose of taking sea-otter along the coast and beaver in the interior. His license from the governor of New Mexico permitted him to take *nutria*, a word which properly means sea-otter, but which in Santa Fé was used colloquially for beaver. This license was received with some demur by the Californian authorities; but Young proceeded to San Pedro, where he built some boats with the aid of an American carpenter out of planking brought from Boston. The *padre* of San Gabriel gave the party passage on his schooner to the Santa Barbara Islands, and there Young conducted a very successful hunt, shooting the otter in the surf and laying in a large store of these valuable furs. The year following he moved his party to the Great Valley and trapped along the San Joaquin, thence to Sacramento, and thence across the Coast Range and north to the Umpqua River. Recrossing the mountains, he came down the Sacramento, trapping beaver all the way; but on reaching Monterey, his rich catch was confiscated by Figueroa, on the ground that his license did not include beaver. The

resourceful American then purchased horses from the missions, intending to sell them at Fort Vancouver. The difficulties there created by Figueroa's misrepresentations have already been related.

Meantime, convinced that farming in California was more profitable than hunting, Wolfskill and Warner got possession of land. The former planted the first commercial vineyard in the neighborhood of Los Angeles, while the latter secured a ten-league grant in the mountains back of San Diego and developed a famous cattle ranch. Some of the trappers had made their way back to Santa Fé and there reported that at Los Angeles they were able to trade their Navajo blankets for mules, at the rate of two *serapes* for one beast. The commercial opening was immediately seized upon by Jackson (of Smith, Sublette & Jackson), and he loaded a pack train with woollen cloth, blankets, and silver dollars, and set out for San Diego by the southern route (Santa Rita, Tucson, and the Pima villages, Rio Colorado, Temecula, and San Luis Rey). Jackson purchased six hundred mules and one hundred horses, of a larger and stronger breed than was grown in New Mexico; but the Santa Fé market was easily overstocked, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana, where they would have brought a better price, were too remote, so the returns on this venture were disappointing. Other traders followed up the opportunity, however, and the Santa Fé caravan soon became an annual event. The train set out in October in advance of the snowfall and, crossing the Mohave Desert in a south-

westerly direction, forded the Colorado at Bill Williams Creek, and so by the Cajon Pass to San Gabriel and Los Angeles. The traffic flourished for a decade [3] (1830–1840), and many of the merchants and muleteers, Mexicans and Americans, crossed with the annual caravan and, finding California much to their liking, elected to remain. Dr. John Marsh, who later founded a colony on the San Joaquin, Pope, who put up the first grist-mill in Los Angeles, and Alexander, who built the first tannery, came in by this route. A more or less perfunctory compliance with the established form of worship was sufficient to protect them from interference on the part of the authorities, and the people welcomed their ingenuity and business enterprise.

The region north of San Francisco Bay was untouched by the Spaniards, for they had stopped, where Anza had been checked, at Estrejo Carquines; but the foreigners were not appalled by running water. In the Petaluma and Napa valleys and beyond the *tule* marshes to the east of the Bay, a number of trappers had squatted, relying on the feebleness of the government for immunity from arrest, and had there collected droves of cattle and horses.

In the Great Valley beyond, the resort of wild horses and degenerate Indians, there were two foreign colonies that rivalled the mission establishments as centres of civilization. Dr. John Marsh was a New Englander and a Harvard graduate, who numbered among his friends Schoolcraft, the scientist, and Governor Cass. Dominated by that enthusiasm for the frontier which swayed so many of his contem-

poraries, Marsh tried his fortune at Detroit, Fort Snelling, Prairie du Chien, and St. Joseph in turn. At the last post he opened a general store and, after seven years' apprenticeship on the Missouri, joined a trading expedition *via* Santa Fé, Chihuahua, and Sonora to California. Here he determined to establish himself (1835) and, finding no difficulty in negotiating a land grant from the compliant Alvarado, he selected a tract near the confluence of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, at the foot of Mt. Diablo. The soil was extraordinarily fertile and the means for irrigation at hand. Within a few years, Dr. Marsh's ranch showed orchards and vineyards and tilled fields, as well as a great herd of cattle. His business success together with his acumen and knowledge of the world gave him paramount influence with the American settlers.

Even more successful and commanding was John A. Sutter, a German Swiss, who, failing in business at home, came to America in pursuit of fortune. He had visited the Missouri frontier, the Columbia River settlements, the Russian posts, and the Sandwich Islands before fate brought him to San Francisco Bay. Much impressed by the resources of the region, he secured from Alvarado a floating grant of eleven square leagues (1839) and located it on American Fork, thinking this tributary less subject to inundation than the Sacramento. Purposing to found a colony of his countrymen, Sutter called the settlement New Helvetia; but this project proved unpractical, and he was fain to fulfil the terms of his contract by enlisting such American, English, and

German adventurers as were at hand. On the north bank of the Fork, three miles above its junction with the Sacramento, the *empressario* built an adobe fort and organized a considerable fighting force, for he had the governor's commission to defend the frontier against *gentiles* and horse thieves. His first business venture was in the fur trade, for beaver were still abundant up the Fork; but he soon had opportunity to buy at a bargain agricultural implements, seeds, plants, and draft animals from Bodega, and was thus enabled to develop his estate. He planted vineyards and orchards and, sowing a thousand acres to wheat, reaped a hundred-fold harvest. As his means increased, Sutter started new industries, — a tannery, a salmon fishery, a grist-mill, a carpenter's shop and a smithy, where all kinds of implements, including ploughs with iron shares, were made by American machinists. The thirty artisans were white men and were paid $2 a day, but the bulk of the merely muscular labor, the ploughing and hoeing, the digging of irrigating ditches, and the making of adobe bricks was performed by three hundred Spanish-speaking Indians, who were meagrely remunerated in blankets and food. For furtherance of household industry, the Indian girls were taught to spin and weave, in anticipation of the day when flocks of sheep should furnish wool for cloth manufacture. The output of these various industries far outran the local demand, and Sutter opened negotiations with a merchant in the Sandwich Islands with a view to shipping butter, cheese, salted salmon, and flour to that profitable market.

Sutter's Fort in 1849.

Sutter's Sawmill at Coloma, 1849.

The Mexican government had not been indifferent to the inroads foreigners were making into this northernmost province, and the traditional jealousies were soon enacted into law. Licenses to take beaver and sea-otter were to be granted only to natives, but the proviso that aliens might be employed to do the trapping largely negatived the prohibition. The naturalization law of 1828 required two years' residence, good character, a useful occupation, and adherence to the Catholic faith. In 1830 Victoria was sent to California with instructions to prevent the Russians and Americans from exceeding one-third of the population. He had the hardihood to banish, on charge of smuggling, Abel Stearns, the most influential American in the south, and he attempted to get rid of Cooper of Monterey, on the ground of conspiracy against the government; but his zeal reacted on his own head, and he was driven from the country. Governor Chico renewed the attack on Stearns and issued an order that every foreigner must present himself before the nearest *alcalde* and justify his residence in the country under penalty of $25 fine, or eight days at hard labor. This edict was effective only in the towns, where it could be enforced. The officers could not reach the hunters and squatters of the interior, almost the only aliens from whom difficulty was to be apprehended. Chico's violent and arbitrary measures soon brought on a revolution. Sympathizing with the anti-Centralists, the Californians determined to be ruled by a *hijo del pais* who would understand the needs and desires of the people. The foreigners abetted this

movement, and with their aid the Mexican incumbent was ousted (1836) and Alvarado put at the head of the government. No sooner was this would-be Washington in control than he turned against his dubious allies. He trumped up a conspiracy charge and arrested Isaac Graham and fifty other warriors from Branciforte and deported them to Mexico, nor did he hesitate to involve foreigners as reputable and law-abiding as Dr. John Marsh. The violation of treaty rights was so gross that the United States government despatched a man-of-war to Monterey, but it arrived too late to rescue Graham's party. France and Great Britian added their protests, and Santa Anna was eventually obliged to repudiate the action of Alvarado, restore the men to liberty, and reinstate them in California. The affair only served to attract attention to the opportunities for realizing a fortune on the Pacific coast, and so enlarging the stream of emigration to California.

Meantime the Mexican government was endeavoring to colonize California. In 1834 two ship-loads of Mexicans arrived at Monterey under conduct of Padres and Hijar, two gentlemen high in the good graces of the administration. The immigrants had been given free passage, maintenance on shipboard, and a stipend of fifty cents a day till they should reach their destination, after the plan of colonization that had proved so signal a failure in the day of Anza and De Neve. Draft animals, tools, seeds, etc., sufficient for the beginnings of agriculture, were to be contributed by the several missions. The location of the colony was to be north of the Bay, near the

Russian settlement or at San Francisco Solano; but the project came to nought. The people were idle, thriftless, and vicious, mere *cholos* (vagabonds) collected at the ports, and the *empressarios* soon got into political difficulties. The only man to profit by this enterprise was General Vallejo, who secured thereby some additional laborers for his colony at Sonoma. The fertile valleys north of the Bay were soon preëmpted by Americans, with whom Vallejo was on very good terms, granting them lands and in various ways furthering their enterprises. Here Young set up the first pit-saw in California, while Stephen Smith, having brought a steam engine and other machinery round the Horn, built a grist-mill and a sawmill on Bodega Bay. Thus, in time, the north shore came to be known as *El Estero Americano.*

According to De Mofras, the white population of Upper California in 1841 was five thousand, of whom four thousand boasted Spanish blood and eighty were born in Spain. There were at that time in the country three hundred and sixty Americans, three hundred English, Scotch, and Irish, and eighty French and French Canadians. The population of Monterey was largely foreign, and this was true in less degree of the other ports and of the two *pueblos* of Los Angeles and San José.[4] The Spaniards preferred to live in the country the easy life of the *ranchero.*

There was a marked contrast in the economic activity displayed by foreigners and Californians. Agriculture, the peculiar province of the Spaniards, was neglected for lack of laborers, and the vineyards, the olive and orange orchards planted by

the *padres* were dying out, the great wheat fields from which grain had been sent to San Blas now produced a paltry six thousand bushels per year, and the care of the hides was so shiftless that the quality had notably fallen off. The brains and capital essential to the industrial development of this rich country were being contributed by foreigners. At San Diego the two mercantile establishments were owned, one by an American named Fitch, and the other by Snooks and Stokes, Englishmen. The five warehouses on the beach still belonged to the Boston hide merchants. In Los Angeles, by this time a town of thirteen hundred inhabitants, all commerce was in the hands of strangers. The wine industry was being developed by Vignes of Bordeaux, the two grist-mills were owned, one by an American, Chapman, and the other by a Frenchman. A Frenchman was working a gold wash at San Francisquito, a cañon just north of San Fernando. There were four asphalt springs south of the town from which the people carted blocks of bitumen with which to roof their houses, but no commercial use was made of this interesting material. At the port of San Pedro, there was but one building, — the hide warehouse belonging to Abel Stearns. At Santa Barbara, the story was repeated, — Englishmen and Americans in the business houses, and Spaniards on the neighboring ranches. The trade of Monterey had fallen into the hands of David Spence, a Scotchman, James Watson, an Englishman, and T. O. Larkin, an American. The population of Branciforte was made up of American hunters who had settled here and married native women.

They were a rough, unruly set. Here Dawson had put up a whip-saw and was fast making money out of the redwood forests, and Isaac Graham, a daredevil from Hardin County, Kentucky, had built a distillery. Even at San José there were many English and Americans, and a party of forty ex-traders had just come over from Taos to settle here. The new settlement of Yerba Buena numbered twenty houses. The principal establishment was that of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose factor, William Rae, was a son-in-law of McLoughlin; but two enterprising Americans, Spears and Hinckley, had put up a saw- and grist-mill, both worked by horse-power. Richardson and Read were doing a good business with the whalers at Sausalito. Simpson observed that the Russians at Bodega, notwithstanding the inferior quality of soil and climate, had extensive wheat fields, orchards, and vineyards. They were working two mills, a tannery, and a blacksmith shop, and had built four sea-going vessels in their little harbor. He remarked with amazement that the Russians and English had come each a hemisphere to collect the rich harvest of furs "which the indolent inhabitants of the province were too lazy to appropriate at their very doors."

Section II

Rival Powers

The year of 1841 was critical as regarded the future of California. The rival foreign interests, Russian, French, British, and American, were at the moment

very nearly balanced, and a slight pressure on one side or another might determine what race was to supersede the indolent Mexicans. The first event of significance was the final withdrawal of the Russian-American Fur Company's post. Their occupation of Bodega Bay and its *hinterland* had been denounced by the successive governors without avail. The British government (1835) had protested that the Russian post contravened a stipulation of the Nootka Convention that no foreign settlement should be attempted in Spanish territory. The United States government made similar representations at St. Petersburg in 1841. This last protest, combined with the facts that the fur-bearing animals were nearly exhausted and that the supplies needed for the Alaskan posts could be more cheaply obtained at Fort Vancouver, finally determined the directors to abandon their foothold on the California coast. The officers and employees were transferred to Sitka and the Aleutian Islands (1841); but the cattle, ordnance, implements, fruit trees, and other property that could not be removed were offered for sale at a lump sum of $30,000. The logical purchaser was the Hudson's Bay Company, which by this time had factories at Yerba Buena, San José, and Monterey, and was proposing to open warehouses at Santa Barbara and Los Angeles for the purchase of hides and tallow. Governor Etholine would have sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company for $20,000 cash, but Sir George Simpson did not think Bodega a valuable acquisition. The supply of furs was exhausted, the post was not well situated for the hide

and tallow trade, nor was the surrounding country the best to be had for agricultural purposes. Moreover, the Russians "admitted that they had no title to the soil, beyond what they had acquired by occupation," and this claim would not be recognized by the Mexican government. So the offer was declined. Sutter purchased the movable property at Bodega to stock his post on American Fork, while Simpson secured a land grant on the San Joaquin, the site of French Camp.

For the Hudson's Bay Company the Russian post was not a good bargain; but to the British Empire it would have been an acquisition of the greatest importance, giving as it did a foothold in California. This Simpson clearly saw. "The country from its natural advantages, possessing, as it does, the finest harbor in the Northern Pacific, in the Bay of San Francisco, and capable, as it is, of maintaining a population of some millions of agriculturists, might become invaluable to Great Britain as an outlet to her surplus population, as a stronghold and protection to her commerce, and interests in these seas, and as a market for her manufactures; and as the principal people in the country, and indeed the whole population, seems anxious to be released from the Republic of Mexico, which can afford them neither protection nor assistance, and are apprehensive that they may fall within the grasp of the United States, I have reason to believe they would require very little encouragement to declare their independence of Mexico, and place themselves under the protection of Great Britain." [5] Sir George assured Lord

Aberdeen that the presence of a British cruiser on the coast and the offer of appointments to some of the influential Spaniards would accomplish the much-to-be-desired result. "If Great Britain be unwilling to sanction or encourage such a declaration, I feel assured, that some step will very soon be taken with the like object, in favor of the United States." [5] An important preliminary would be the planting of a colony on the coast, and Simpson recommended for this purpose the valley of Santa Rosa back of Bodega Bay, the very region which he had rejected as a site for a Hudson's Bay Company post.[6] In his *Voyage round the World*, published four years after the letters were written, Simpson suggested that the government negotiate the acquisition of California in return for the extinction of the debt of $10,000,000 due from the Mexican government to British subjects.

This suggestion had already been made (1839) by Alexander Forbes, the British consul at Tepic; but while the proposition occasioned unfavorable comment among interested Americans, it received no official attention in Great Britain. Neither Palmerston nor Peel was willing to assume any responsibility in the matter. The bondholders, indeed, made some overtures to the Mexican government looking to the acquisition of land in satisfaction of their claims. R. C. Wyllie, their agent, had some correspondence with William Hartnell (1844) respecting the advantages of California for the location of a British colony, but the project came to nothing. Still more visionary was the plan of the Irish priest, McNamara, to transfer the distressed peasants of

Ireland to the unoccupied wastes of this land of opportunity. He petitioned the Mexican government (1845) for a tract between the San Joaquin and the Sierras, on which he promised to settle from one to two thousand Irish families. Either undertaking would have been protested unquestionably by the United States as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Even the new business enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company was doomed to failure. For four years the factory at Yerba Buena carried on a local trade in hides, although the diminishing supply and brisk competition rendered the commerce unprofitable; but in 1845 William Rae became involved in personal and financial difficulties and committed suicide. No one was sent to take his place, and the British consul closed out the business, selling the real estate to Mellus and Howard for $5000. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to influence the fate of California.

In this same critical year representatives of France and the United States came to California to study the situation and report upon the resources and probable future of the country. The French government sent Duflot de Mofras, an able and experienced man who had served as *attaché* to the embassies of Madrid and the City of Mexico and was in full sympathy with the Spanish population. He was especially commissioned to determine the desirability of placing factories at the ports for the aid and protection of French commerce, particularly the whalers. His report is a full and accurate account of the population and resources of California and its capacity for de-

fence, as observed during a sojourn of many months; but if De Mofras contemplated the Gallic occupation of the country, he found little encouragement in actual conditions. French residents were everywhere in the minority, and they gave unremitting attention to their own affairs, mingled sociably with the Spanish-speaking inhabitants, and showed no signs of political ambition. De Mofras claimed Sutter's Fort as a French colony and noted with satisfaction the strategic importance of the post, commanding as it did the route to the upper Sacramento and the pass over the Sierras; but he had no more practical suggestion than that missionaries be sent to care for the Indians left destitute by the destruction of the missions. In private conversation he freely expressed the opinion that California would eventually belong to the United States.[7]

Wilkes, the commander of the United States exploring expedition, who spent the month of August, 1841, in San Francisco Bay, was much impressed by the "total absence of all government." The *presidio* was in ruins, and its garrison consisted of an absentee officer and one old soldier. No one appeared to have any respect for Alvarado or for the Mexican government. The pay of the troops was months in arrears, while the higher officials helped themselves to good salaries out of the custom-house receipts. The onerous duties and restrictions imposed at Monterey had driven what little traffic there was away from the "open port" to San Francisco Bay. Here Richardson and Vallejo collected such duties as they saw fit and pocketed the proceeds, turning over a mere

San Francisco Bay as De Mofras saw it, 1841.

pittance to the constituted authorities. Before undertaking to put his goods on sale, a shipmaster must first see the commander of the forces and win his favor. Otherwise he would pay penalty for his discourtesy in a hundred petty exactions. Wilkes claimed New Helvetia as an American colony, and with good reason, for Sutter employed a large force of American hunters, and several American families had settled in the vicinity. The conclusion of the American observer was that Upper California must soon separate finally from Mexico and become united with Oregon, a territory with which it had already considerable commercial intercourse. "So may be formed a great state that will control the trade with the Orient and the destinies of the Pacific." This state must be ruled by men of the "Anglo-Norman race." [8] Wilkes gave himself little concern for the authorities at the *presidio;* but to the Americans gathered at Nathan Spear's store o' nights he talked quite freely. The usually discreet officer expressed his conviction that California must ultimately belong to the United States, and that the only rival to be apprehended was Great Britain.

Section III

The Advent of the Emigrants

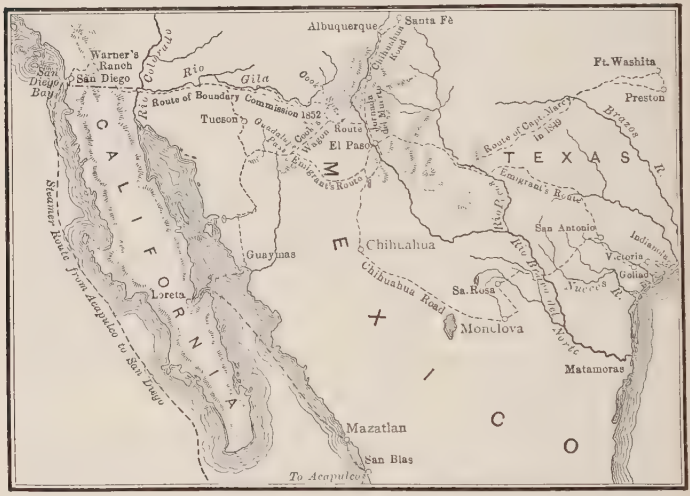
The ownership of California, like that of Oregon, was to be determined, not by diplomats and battleships, but by settlers in actual possession of the land. Rumors of the fair and fertile country beyond the West, where a farm was to be had for the asking,

soon reached the Missouri frontier. The letters of Dr. John Marsh and the talk of Robidoux, the Santa Fé trader who had followed the Spanish Trail, found their way into the Eastern papers in the summer and autumn of 1840, and their glowing accounts of California were received with credulous eagerness.[9] The pioneers of Platte County, Missouri, were all agog to see this new land and to hazard a chance on the farthest frontier. Some five hundred adventurous souls signed an agreement to migrate in the spring, but the merchants of Westport took alarm lest their market should drift beyond them and they circulated tales of another tenor,[10] magnifying the dangers of the Sierras and the hostility of the Californian authorities. Bartleson and Bidwell alone persisted. They succeeded in gathering a party of forty-eight — one-third women and children — with a dozen wagons drawn by mules and oxen, and supplies adequate for the overland journey. Fitzpatrick was their guide to Bear River, and this they followed to within ten miles of Salt Lake; but there, instead of going on to Fort Hall, they struck directly west in search of Ogden's "unknown river" which was to guide them to the Sierras. The wagons were abandoned in the desert, and thenceforward the provisions, together with the feebler members of the company, were packed on mule back. The party reached Walker River by the middle of October and they forced their way over the mountains by the lofty Sonora Pass. Coming out into the Stanislaus Valley, they arrived at Dr. Marsh's ranch without the loss of a life, but exhausted and destitute. The businesslike fashion

in which the ardent exponent of California's bounty asked payment for food and clothing astonished and disgusted the Missourians, and the fact that their knives, powder, lead, and way-worn cattle were purchased at rates unheard of in the East did not console them for their disillusionment. Vallejo, moreover, demanded their passports and, finding they had none, threw the leaders into jail. The matter was soon adjusted, however, when Marsh and Sutter and other reputable residents offered surety for the peaceable conduct of the new arrivals. The commander-in-chief of the forces of California justified this concession on the ground that he had not soldiers enough to expel the Americans; but the fact that they made themselves useful at Sonoma probably did much to determine his tolerance.

In this same year, another party of Missourians came to California by the Santa Fé route, travelling in company with the traders' caravans and driving a flock of sheep for food. The Spanish Trail was less difficult than that taken by Bidwell's party, but the New Mexican authorities were more obdurate than the Californian, and the road was infested by thieving Apaches. This route was never popular with any but native Mexicans. The journey *via* New Orleans, Vera Cruz, and the City of Mexico to San Blas, and thence by water to San Diego was even more hazardous, for the Mexican roads were patrolled by brigands, and the government afforded no protection. This was the most expensive way of getting to California, costing about $500; but it took only three months' time, whereas the journey round Cape Horn required

four or five months, though it cost only $300. The overland traverse occupied five or six months, but the expenditure was slight. The Missouri farmer could use his own wagons and oxen and lay in a stock of



Southern Emigrant Routes to California, 1853.

provisions from his own produce. The cost in human life and energy few of these enthusiasts stopped to consider.

The Missourians who came overland were largely from Platte and Pike counties, and were of all frontiersmen the most uncouth. "They were mostly long, gaunt, narrow-chested, round-shouldered men, with long, straight, light-coloured, dried-up-looking hair, small thin sallow faces, with rather scanty beard and moustache, and small grey sunken eyes, which seemed to be keenly perceptive of everything around them. But in their movements the men were slow and awkward, and in the towns especially they

betrayed a childish astonishment at the strange sights occasioned by the presence of the divers nations of the earth. The fact is that till they came to California, many of them had never in their lives before seen two houses together, and in any little village in the mines they witnessed more of the wonders of civilization than ever they had dreamed of. . . . They could use an axe or a rifle with any man. Two of them would chop down a few trees and build a log-cabin in a day and a half, and with their long five-foot-barrel-rifle, which was their constant companion, they could 'draw a bead' on a deer, a squirrel, or the white of an Indian's eye, with equal coolness and certainty of killing."[11]

In 1843 there was a lull in emigration to California. Men waited to hear from their friends before undertaking the difficult journey. The Workman-Rowland party, largely Mexican, went by the southern route and settled in Los Angeles, but none went through by South Pass. The year following, Joseph B. Chiles, who had been one of Bidwell's group, organized a company of eight hundred, and piloted it without difficulty to Fort Hall. There, because of the scarcity of game and pasture, the party divided. The hardier men followed Chiles to Fort Boisé and thence, guided by the Malheur and Pitt rivers, across the Sage Plains to the Sacramento,—a journey so disastrous as to give this thereafter the name of Death Route. The bulk of the company was conducted by Joseph Walker down the Ogden or Mary's River to the "sinks," and thence sixty days' journey south to Owen's

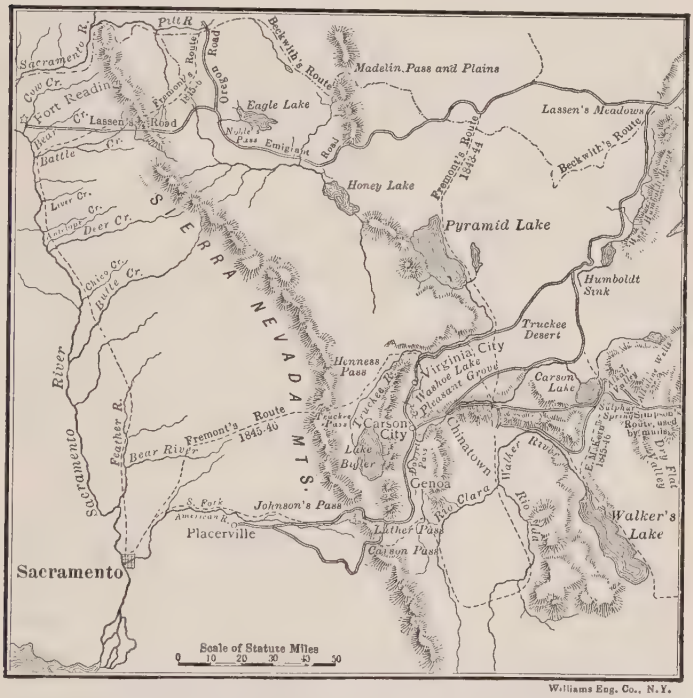
Peak, the "point of the mountain," and Walker's Pass. On Owen's Lake, they were obliged to abandon the wagons and cross the Sierras on foot, suffering great hardships; but they finally got through by the Tulares to Gilroy's ranch, without loss of life.

This year, in response to vigorous protests against the American invasion forwarded by General Vallejo and by Almonte, Mexican minister to the United States, Santa Anna, fearing lest the example of Texas should be repeated, issued an edict prohibiting further immigration to California. Foreigners without passports were denied legal status and the right to purchase land. Castro undertook to drive the American squatters from the Sacramento Valley, but he was not supported by his superiors, and Waddy Thompson, American representative at the City of Mexico, secured the revocation of the edict.

This year, too, came the first Oregonians. L. W. Hastings, who had conducted a party to the Columbia in 1842, was dissatisfied with the region and its damp and gloomy climate, and determined to prospect the Spanish territory to the south. He gathered about him some fifty more malcontents, half of them women and children, and followed the trappers' trail across the Mendocino range. On Rogue River they met a cavalcade of Americans moving from California to Oregon and the two parties stopped to compare experiences. All had evidently expected too much of the Pacific paradise. The discussion of the merits and demerits of Oregon and California had the effect of turning one-third of Hastings'

company back to the Willamette. Hastings and seventeen other men persisted, and brought their families through to Sutter's Fort in excellent health and spirits. Thereafter the Hudson's Bay Company's trail was a much frequented road and was easily rendered feasible for wagons. Another party of thirty-six disappointed Oregonians came down to Sutter's Fort two years later.

In 1844 Murphy and Stevens brought a party fifty strong along Mary's River to the Sinks, and



Wagon Routes across the Sierras, 1858–1859.

thence across forty miles of waterless desert to the Truckee River. This led them to the most prac-

ticable pass in the Sierras and to the head waters of the Bear River. Lassen's route diverged northward at Lassen's Meadows and entered California near the head waters of Feather River. It was three hundred miles longer than the Truckee route, but had the great advantage of easier ascents and descents and better pasturage. This trail was soon beaten into an excellent road which was thronged with emigrant wagons.

Of the half-dozen routes across the Sierras, those by Sonora and Walker passes were soon abandoned as too dangerous. Lassen's Road and Beckwith's trail were sometimes followed; but the most popular routes, because the most direct and least mountainous, were the two middle crossings; viz. that by the Carson and American rivers, or, most feasible of all, the Truckee and Bear River route. The first attempt at a scientific survey was made by Captain Fremont, who, on returning from the Dalles in 1843, was forced, by loss of horses and cattle, to abandon his purpose of recrossing the desert to Salt Lake and to fall back on the forlorn hope of getting supplies in the Spanish country beyond the Sierras. A Washoe Indian guided the explorers up Carson River Cañon and indicated the road taken by a party of white men the preceding summer. A midwinter transit was a far more difficult matter, for the rocky trail was covered with six feet of snow. Sledges were built for the luggage, snow-shoes contrived for the men, and a hard path for the horses was made by packing the snow with mauls and shovels. Even so, the party might have perished

of cold and hunger but for the resourceful courage of the captain. Half the horses were lost or killed for food and two of the men had gone insane before the summit was reached (February 20, 1844). From this point, 9338 feet above sea level, the vast slope of the mountain to the Bay of San Francisco — eighty miles to the west — could be distinctly seen.[12] The descent along the South Fork of the American River was a delightful relief to the exhausted travellers. All the beauty of a California spring was spread out before them. Pasture was abundant, myriad flowers dotted the uplands, magnificent forests of pine covered the foothills, while groves of white oak followed the river courses.

Arrived at Sutter's Fort, Fremont found supplies in abundance and was able to repair his outfit and to secure horses for the return journey. His admiration of the energetic Swiss was expressed in glowing terms. The skill which had rendered the Indians industrious farm-hands in return for a mere pittance of food and clothing was only excelled by the ingenuity with which some thirty white mechanics, American, French, and German, were held to their several employments. Excellent wages ($2.50 to $5 per day) and the prospect of lands on the Sutter grant were potent inducements to the newly arrived emigrants. Several had already settled on adjacent ranches, — Coudrois on the Feather River, Sinclair on the American, while Chiles (whom Fremont had met at Fort Hall) was established on the west bank of the Sacramento. Equipped anew with one hundred and thirty horses and thirty beef cattle,

Fremont set out on his return journey up the San Joaquin Valley and across Walker's Pass to the Spanish Trail.[13] His enthusiasm for this hitherto undescribed region was unfeigned. The party rode through parklike meadows brightened by sheets of purple lupine and yellow poppies and shaded by stately live oaks. Game was abundant, elk and deer and antelope, while droves of wild horses browsed undisturbed except by an occasional Indian foray. Fremont's *Journal* was printed by order of Congress in 1845 and, being widely circulated, gave tremendous impetus to the California fever. His third expedition (1845–1846) was never officially chronicled, but it served no less to augment enthusiasm for the land beyond the Sierras and to incite emigration thither. On this last expedition Fremont crossed the Sierras by the Truckee River, and confirmed the popular impression of the greater feasibility of that route.

Thus far the movement to California had been less than to Oregon. Two or three parties of adventurers, undecided where to locate, half of whom drifted on to the Columbia or returned to the Eastern states, had not added more than two hundred persons to the American population. But by 1845 the systematic encouragement of emigration was well under way. Hastings was in the East, preparing his *Guide* and lecturing on the marvellous resources of California. Dr. Marsh wrote to his old-time friend, Lewis Cass, dilating on the advantage of acquiring this fairest of Mexican provinces for the United States, while Thomas O. Larkin,

United States consul at Monterey, Nathan Spear, and other enthusiastic Californians added their arguments. The Oregon-bound emigrants of 1845 found at Fort Hall two professional guides, Greenwood and McDougal, full of enthusiasm for California and eager to conduct parties thither. By their persuasion, emigrants to the number of one hundred men and one hundred and fifty women who had intended to go to the Willamette were induced to cross the Sierras. In the spring of 1846 it was rumored that one thousand emigrants were bound for California, and Hastings, Hudspeth, and Chiles set out to guide them to the promised land. Hastings had discovered a new route from Fort Bridger by Echo and Weber cañons, passing Salt Lake south of that dread morass, and then directly west across the Great American Desert to the Sierras. It considerably shortened the distance (thirteen days as compared with thirty-five), but increased the peril from absence of pasture and water. Several parties under the personal care of Hudspeth and Hastings made the journey in safety, although with heavy loss of cattle; but the Reed-Donner company met a tragic fate. Their traverse of the Great Basin was hindered by a divided command, and they reached the mountains so late that the summits were covered with snow. Despairing of making their way through to the west slope, they camped on Donner's Lake, just beyond the divide, and in this death-trap half the number (forty-three) perished before help could reach them. Thereafter Hastings' Cut Off was little used except by Mormons, and the Humboldt and Truckee rivers were usually followed.

The valley of the Humboldt, two hundred and fifty miles long, afforded a difficult roadway for emigrant wagons. The narrow flats were covered with sage-bush, breast high, and pasture was scarce, while the river flowing at the bottom of a rocky ravine could be reached only at rare intervals. The Shoshones, rendered hostile by outrages committed by unscrupulous white men, were lying in wait ready to ambush the weaker parties and to carry off cattle and horses. The greatest dread of the Humboldt route, however, was the Forty-mile Desert between the Sink and the Carson River, for throughout this stretch of sand and alkali, there was neither water nor grass to be had nor any shelter from the blazing sun. Travellers fortified their live stock as best they might at the slimy, brackish waters of the lower Humboldt, and usually attempted to make the Carson in one night's forced march; but this required expert leadership and iron endurance, and many fell by the way. Jules Remy, who crossed the desert in 1855, found the trail strewn with wreckage. "Here and there broken wagons abandoned by the emigrants indicated the roadway, and we met with poles, wheels, and planks in all directions. On all sides also were skeletons and hides of oxen." Remy describes several companies who had brought droves of cattle and horses over the plains from Ohio, only to lose them in this waste. In two instances the owner and leader had been killed by the Indians, and beside the trail he noticed the graves of "three emigrants who had left the States, where they were living in comfort, to seek a precarious

fortune in the land of Eldorado." At the bend of the Carson River, the desert-worn caravans came upon the first habitations of white men,—"three huts formed of poles covered with rotten canvas full of holes." [14] One was a blacksmith's shop where wagons and harness might be repaired, one was a miserable excuse for a hotel, and the third belonged to a trader who supplied provisions to emigrants and Indians. All three of the then residents of "Ragtown" were, in Remy's estimation, arrant thieves.

From this point, according to the preferences of leader or guide, the traverse of the Sierras might be made by following the Carson River to Johnson's Pass, or the Truckee to the higher but more feasible divide discovered by the Murphy party.

In the first eight years of the overland migration to California, some six hundred and fifty men and as many women and children made their way to the coast by prairie schooner. These immigrants were largely farmers from the Missouri frontier, and they settled in Sacramento, Napa, and Petaluma valleys without much regard to legal title. Squatters by instinct and habit, they were quite content to adopt Hastings' suggestion that a little delay would abrogate the necessity of qualifying under the Mexican law. In 1845 Hastings estimated that there were two hundred American farmers settled north of the Bay. They were all doing well, having excellent crops of wheat, corn, oats, and flax, and fine herds of cattle and horses. Their pastures lay unenclosed, for it was cheaper to hire Indians to guard the animals than to put up fences or dig

ditches. Their houses were built of adobe because lumber was scarce and the Indians understood only the Spanish mode of building. The enthusiastic advocate of the American occupation of California thought the native *ranchero* so hopelessly antiquated as to be unworthy of the land he tilled. His plough was a "mere forked stick, one prong of which, being pointed, answers as the share, and the other having a notch cut at the end, to which a rope may be attached, constitutes the beam, while the main stalk, extending back a few feet from the union of the two prongs, constitutes the handle." His means of transportation was even more primitive. "A dry bullock's hide, to which one end of a long rawhide rope is attached, the other end of which is attached to the pommel of the saddle" of the horseman. "Upon this hide, thus dragging upon the ground, are heaped vegetables, fowls, and whatever else they may have in readiness for the market." [15]

Another attempt to exclude Americans from California was made in 1845, when Santa Anna sent an order to this effect to Governor Pico, but the governor saw no reason for alarm. He continued to give the foreigners every facility for trade and to award land grants to such as could pay for them or had found means of currying favor. An official statement published by Almonte to the effect that the popular belief that lands were to be had in California by right of occupation was unfounded, and that no grants made to foreigners were legal without the express sanction of the supreme govern-

ment, had no more result than Santa Anna's abortive order. The prairie schooners continued to climb the mountain passes, and hardy pioneers carved out farms and preëmpted pasture lands along the lower Sacramento valley.

Section IV

The Acquisition of New Mexico and California

By 1846 there were seven hundred Americans in California, one hundred British, and one hundred French, Germans, and Italians. There were perhaps seven thousand people of Spanish blood and ten thousand domesticated Indians, as the neophytes were now designated. All enterprise and industry originated with the foreign population, and of the several races represented, the Americans were by all odds the most energetic. The first sea-going vessel built in California was launched by a Yankee mechanic at San Pedro. The first lumber was cut for market at Branciforte by the Kentuckian, Isaac Graham. The first steam sawmill was set up at Bodega by Stephen Smith, the first steam flour-mill belonged to Captain Hinckley of Yerba Buena. Politically as well as industrially the Americans were dominant, and as their numbers increased and their reputation for valor and determination spread, Pico and Castro recognized that they could enforce no exclusive regulations, even had they desired to do so. The military strength of the Californian government consisted of forty-seven antiquated cannon and three hundred and seventeen undisciplined

soldiers, while there was said to be not enough ammunition in the *presidio* of San Francisco to fire a salute.

No American familiar with the situation had any doubt that the annexation of Texas would precipitate a conflict with Mexico. When Almonte withdrew from Washington, and Arista began to collect troops at Matamorras on the Rio Grande, President Polk announced that the obstinate adversary had "at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil," and that we had no alternative but war. General Taylor was despatched to defend our "historic boundary," General Scott sailed for Vera Cruz with instructions to march to the City of Mexico, while General Kearney led the Army of the West across the Plains to Santa Fé. The latter expedition had an excellent chronicler in the person of Colonel Cooke, who went in advance to reconnoiter the route. New Mexico had changed in no respect since Gregg described conditions there prevailing. The adobe villages looked like "extensive brick yards," cluttered with piles of yellow bricks and smoking kilns. All pretence of protecting the ranches against Indian forays had ceased, and the Navajos and Apaches had swept the land of sheep and driven the people to take refuge in the villages. The great ranch owners lived like feudal lords, each surrounded by his force of peons whom he fed and clothed and kept continually in his debt. The prohibitory tariff imposed by Armijo had ruined the St. Louis trade and left the people no resource but the costly imports from Vera Cruz,

while the custom house was still the scene of shady transactions from which the governor was the chief beneficiary. The few shops were kept by Americans, and the Pueblo Indians were the only other industrious element in the population. Agriculture had reached so low a stage that the country was nearly destitute of provisions, and the military defences were of the paltriest description. Governor Armijo boasted an army of six thousand men, but he could not induce them to march on Raton Pass — the natural gateway to Santa Fé — against Kearney's force of seventeen hundred. He was soon obliged to abandon the city and retreat to El Paso, leaving behind him, among other accoutrements of war, a battered cannon marked, "Barcelona, 1778." The Mexican population acquiesced in this ignominious fiasco, and the only energetic defence was made by the Indians. The Pueblos of Taos would not surrender their fortress dwelling until one hundred and fifty of their braves had fallen.

Once master of the towns, General Kearney administered the oath of allegiance to the *alcaldes* and pronounced the people "released from all allegiance to Mexico and citizens of the United States." The Mexican government had failed to secure the first principles of well-being, and the government of the United States promised a more prosperous régime. Nevertheless, the chronicler blushed for the rapidity of the transformation. "They have been informed that they shall soon have a voice in their own government. Doubtless this flagrant servitude will be gradually broken up; but when shall such people

be capable of self-government! There will be a territorial government for thirty years — and the language will not change faster than the color of the citizens." [16] "The great boon of American citizenship [was] thus thrust, through an interpreter, by the mailed hand, upon eighty thousand mongrels who cannot read, — who are almost heathens, — the great mass reared in real slavery, called peonism, but still imbued by nature with enough patriotism to resent this outrage of being forced to swear an alien allegiance, by an officer who had just passed their frontier." [17] The Army of the West then marched on to California, "to repeat the same rather dramatic exploits." "New Mexico has furnished the scene of a good rehearsal at the least." [18]

There were two ways of reaching California. The old Spanish Trail by Green River involved too heavy risks in the way of snow-covered mountain and parched desert, and Cooke was sent to reconnoiter the Gila River route. From El Paso del Norte he made his way *via* Bernalillo, Albuquerque, and Isletta, to Frontera and Tucson. The country was too rough for wagons, but the *mesas* were covered with grama grass, frost proof and excellent provender for the mules, while herds of wild horses and wilder cattle provided food for the men. The Camino del Diablo and the Colorado Desert presented greater difficulties. Leagues of drifting sand and baked clay covered with mesquite bushes and artemesia, where the only surface water was the infrequent rain pools, and wells must be dug to the substratum of clay, where the chief food was that

furnished by the mesquite bean, — these difficulties did not discourage Cooke's Mormon recruits. The men covered their naked feet with rawhide and woollen rags and marched on with a patience born of despair. Two months after leaving El Paso, they reached the Coast Range and running water. Kearney found California in a state of war.

President Polk had hoped to purchase California, and he sent Slidell to the City of Mexico with a proposal for the cession of the province, but the offer was indignantly refused. The determination of the expansionist administration to secure complete control of the Pacific Coast was not, however, abandoned. Its policy was to keep on good terms with the Californians, while allowing no other power to acquire political foothold in the territory. Secretary Buchanan's secret instructions to Larkin (October, 1845) made this quite evident. The confidential agent of the government was to use all suitable means to conciliate the Spanish population and to impress them with the advantages of a closer connection with the United States. There is good reason to believe that California would have accepted the protection of her powerful neighbor with even less protest than New Mexico but for Fremont's unlucky interference. This gifted and ambitious young officer, with some aid from Senator Benton, had succeeded in securing (1845) a commission to explore the passes of the Sierras in the interest of the emigrants. The expedition of 1843–1844 had rendered him familiar with the Oregon Trail and with the Carson River route to the Pacific. With a

party of engineers, to which he added some sixty "mountain men" — the noted guide and hunter Kit Carson among them — the "pathfinder" crossed the Sierras in midwinter (December, 1845) by the Truckee Pass already discovered by Murphy and Stevens in 1844. Arrived in California, Fremont got Micheltorema's permission to explore the interior; but his sudden and unexplained appearance within a day's march of Monterey was resented, and he was ordered to leave the country. His retreat toward Oregon was checked at Klamath Lake, where the party was overtaken by Lieutenant Gillespie with a packet of papers from Washington, — family letters and a copy of the Larkin instructions. Fremont was apparently more impressed by the family counsels than by Buchanan's conciliatory program, for he immediately turned south, encamped at the Three Buttes, and began to circulate those rumors of General Castro's bloody designs against the American settlers and of his own readiness to defend his countrymen, which instigated the Bear Flag revolt. The effect of this ill-timed uprising was to engender in the minds of the Californians a distrust of the government that had presumably authorized the filibustering exploit, and in the newly arrived immigrants a hatred and contempt of the Spanish inhabitants, — a misunderstanding which seriously handicapped the legitimate representatives of the administration in carrying out its plan of peaceful annexation.

The Bear Flag Republic was proclaimed at Sonoma on June 15, 1848. Admiral Sloat raised

Pass in the Sierra Nevada.

the American flag at Monterey on July 7. In the three weeks' interval there had been some dishonorable bloodshedding on the part of both the insurgents and their antagonists, all hope of a peaceful solution of the imbroglio was dissipated, and Sloat's pacific proclamations fell on deaf ears. There was reason to fear that the Californians might appeal to England for protection, and the belated arrival of a British fleet at Monterey brought the excitement to a climax. Stockton was appointed to succeed Sloat in command of the Pacific squadron, and the systematic conquest of the country was begun. Governor Pico and General Castro fled to Mexico, and Vallejo made terms with the invaders; but there were braver spirits among the Californians. The men of the south made a plucky fight for their independence and they succeeded in inflicting a humiliating defeat on Mervine and his marines at San Pedro and on the more formidable Kearney at San Pascual. The issue could not long be doubtful, however, for Mexico could do nothing to aid the loyalists. In the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848), New Mexico and California were ceded to the United States in consideration of an indemnity of $15,000,000.

Once in possession of California, the Americans declared the obnoxious Mexican customs and the inefficient and arbitrary rule of the *alcaldes* intolerable, and they clamored for state government and a code based upon the common law. Congress was slow to act on the California case, both parties to the vexed slavery controversy hoping to win some

advantage on the Pacific Coast. Impatient of delay and harassed by the anarchic condition of society, the settlers called a popular convention (1849) and adopted a state constitution. Although more than half the delegates had originated in states below the Mason and Dixon line, a clause excluding slavery was adopted by unanimous vote. The effort of the extreme pro-slavery politicians and the Mexicans of the Los Angeles district to divide California into two states and so leave opportunity for independent action was frustrated, and thus slavery was forever debarred from the new America beyond the Sierras.

Section V

The Land Question

There was far more bitterness in California over the question of land titles and the validity of the grants made by Spanish and Mexican governors than was aroused by the exclusion of slave labor. All properties and deeds recognized by the Mexican administration had been guaranteed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; but to American pioneers, accustomed to wander over a public domain in any portion of which they might acquire preëmption rights by the mere fact of settlement, it seemed intolerable that an alien government should have made over large tracts of the best land to men who had done little or nothing to deserve such an advantage. The report of General Halleck (1847) voiced the sentiments of the Americans. Few of the grantees had fulfilled the terms of their

empressario contract, and the greater part of the wide estates claimed by them lay uncultivated. None of the grants had been accurately surveyed, and their boundaries, roughly indicated by natural landmarks, were doubtful and not infrequently overlapped. Some of the deeds were of dubious origin, bearing the signature of Pico, the recent *de facto* governor, who had utilized his brief period of authority to enrich himself and his friends. Many of the grants made to foreigners had never been indorsed by the Mexican government in accordance with the law. Some were patent forgeries. The squatters, however, did not concern themselves about these discriminations. They had small respect for the technicalities of the law and did not hesitate to challenge titles as ancient as those of Nieto and Yerba and as well merited as those of Sutter.

In 1849 the secretary of the interior deputed to William Carey Jones the delicate task of investigating the validity of the California land grants, in order to determine what portion of the territory fell under the jurisdiction of Congress. The Jones report (submitted in May, 1850) represented an exhaustive and impartial study of the archives, both at Monterey and at the City of Mexico. He came to conclusions not at all in accord with the wishes of the squatters. To wit, the bulk of the Mexican grants had been made in conformity with the law of 1828 and were "perfect titles," "equivalent to patents from our own government"; in cases where the technical evidences of title were missing or

defective, long and undisputed occupation should be regarded as establishing title; the *pueblo* four league grants which had been distributed, under the regulations of de Neve, among the original *pobladores*, should be doubly respected. "They were, in the first place, the meagre rewards for expatriation and arduous and hazardous public service in a remote and savage country. They are now the inheritance of the descendants of the first settlers of the country who redeemed it from barbarism. Abstractly considered there cannot be any higher title to the soil."[19] There were without question some simulated grants issued since the American conquest with the connivance of the governors; and these should be put to a rigid test.[20] The country west of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, precisely the most available and productive portion of the territory, was pretty fully covered by grants that antedated the American occupation; but there was hope for the immigrants in the likelihood that an accurate survey would prove that many holdings were far in excess of the original grant, leaving a large surplus still available.

Now the pioneers, with childlike egotism, held that they, being American citizens, were entitled to the best of everything in California. It was intolerable that a few hundred despised Mexicans should have control of vast tracts along the coast, leaving only the remoter districts for the *bona fide* farmer. What right had the Vallejos, the Arguellos, or even Captain Sutter to eleven league grants? These great estates savored of effete aristocracy and

should be disregarded. The land belonged to the hardy men who had faced the dangers of desert and sierra and had brought the institutions and laws of the United States to the Pacific Coast. The Oregon precedent gave warrant for the belief that every emigrant to California would be given a farm of one hundred and sixty acres in the most promising part of the territory. Undeterred by the conclusions of the Jones report, incoming Americans proceeded to settle on the most desirable lands, hoping to establish a preëmption title when the day of settlement came. Especially at the commercial centers, San Francisco, Sacramento and Stockton, were the squatters active in seizing on attractive lots, quite regardless of ownership. The town of Sacramento was built on the low ground along the river a few miles below New Helvetia. The land had been sold by Captain Sutter to Samuel Brannan and other speculators who proceeded to oust the squatters. Organized resistance was determined on, and the leaders drew up a statement of their position: "Whereas the land in California is presumed to be public land, therefore, *Resolved*, That we will protect any settler in the possession of land to the extent of one lot in the city, and one hnndred and sixty acres in the country, till a valid title shall be shown for it." [21] Alvarado's grant to Sutter ran from the Feather River on the east to the Sacramento River on the west, and from the Three Peaks on the north to latitude 38° 49′ 32″ (within twenty miles of Sacramento) on the south, and did not, therefore, cover the disputed district; but the

legislature and the courts sided with the speculators, and the controversy came to blows. The movement spread to other towns, and under the name of "the preëmptioners' league" and "the settlers' party," the squatters exercised a strong influence on national legislation.

By an "act to ascertain and settle private land claims in the state of California" (March 3, 1851), Congress undertook to arbitrate these difficulties. A land commission was appointed before which all titles must be presented and vindicated on pain of forfeiture; but appeal from the decision of the commission might be had to the United States district court and thence to the Supreme Court. The claimant, having run successfully the gantlet of these three tribunals, must still have his grant delimited by the United States surveyor-general for California before he was entitled to a final patent from the general land office. Titles that were rejected or that failed of presentation within two years after the appointment of the commission, escheated to the public domain and were thereupon open to preëmption. This extraordinary piece of partisan legislation was earnestly opposed by Senator Benton, on the ground that it called in question every land title in the state (titles that had been assumed to be valid in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo), and imposed upon the Californians a long and costly process of litigation. These considerations had little weight, however, in opposition to the representations of Senator Gwin, advocate of the settlers' party. The result was to involve the country in an endless snarl of litigation.

The California landowner, never a good business man, ignorant of American customs and court procedure, had now to defend his antiquated title against the shrewd and persistent American claimant. Whatever the decision of the commissioners, the case was almost invariably appealed to the district and then to the Supreme Court, and the costs of the successive suits, together with the lawyers' fees, far exceeded the annual income from the estate in question. The harassed *ranchero* could offer only land and cattle in payment, and it not infrequently happened that before the suit was ended, the property had passed into the hands of the attorneys in the case.

The ultimate findings of the Supreme Court justified the greater part of the Mexican titles. Of eight hundred and thirteen titles brought before the commission, six hundred and four were finally confirmed, one hundred and ninety were rejected, and nineteen were withdrawn as indefensible. (Many of the smaller landowners and most of the Indians failed to present their claims and so forfeited their lands.) It is probable that few legal titles were set aside, but the Spanish landowners were none the less impoverished and despoiled. The American claimants suffered hardly less. The costs of litigation, the impossibility of selling or mortgaging any portion of the land so long as the title was dubious, the discouragement to permanent improvements, — all these deterrents, prolonged through the critical period when there was most need that the soil should be brought under cultivation, served to check the

agricultural development of California and the prosperity of the original settlers. Far better for the squatters would have been the measures urged by Benton and Fremont, based on the tacit recognition of all Mexican titles and the calling before the commission of only such grants as were made subsequent to the conquest or were challenged as fraudulent. Farm land was at that time "cheap as dirt" in California. The very best of it, that about Santa Barbara, might be bought at twenty-five cents per acre.[22] At this rate it would have been more economical to purchase a quarter section than to go through the long, anxious, and costly process of disproving the title of the Spanish incumbent. The general result of the long controversy was not to distribute the great *ranchos* among American homesteaders, but to segregate them in the hands of successful lawyers or to turn them over to the bankers who had advanced money to plaintiff or defendant. A land monopoly far more sinister than that the squatters had denounced was thereby created, while the violence that was often exercised in defence of a dubious claim debased the standard of citizenship and discouraged the better type of immigration.

The remnants of land left in the possession of the *rancheros* at the end of the long litigation were soon further diminished in an equally legal but no less effective fashion. Shrewd and merciless Americans, with money to lend, plied the short-sighted and luxurious Spaniards with attractive opportunities for spending. A loan at five or six per cent per month, secured by a mortgage on the estate, provided the

wherewithal for gambling, horse-racing, or other exciting indulgence, and it was rarely possible to meet the obligation incurred in time to avoid foreclosure. Thus, much of the Spanish inheritance came into the hands of the strangers. William Chandless, who passed through Los Angeles in 1855, describes the situation there: "One of the first things that catches your eye is a notice on door-posts and in newspapers, such as the following: '*Venta por el Sheriff.* John Smith *v.* José Sepolva. *El Sheriff vendera a la puerta de la casa di Condade al mayor postor Todo ese*, etc., *de dicho* José Sepolva.' So little justice is done between American citizens in California that no one, I suppose, even pretends that a Spaniard, unless he offered a very heavy bribe, would have any chance of a favorable decision." [23] Much as one must deplore this ruthless spoliation of a race, it is only just to bear in mind that the greater portion of the Mexican grants represented a no less ruthless and far more unscrupulous spoliation of the missions and the mission Indians.

Section VI

The Age of Gold

In *The Californian* of March 15, 1848, there appeared the following bit of news: "Gold mines found. In the newly-made race-way of the Saw Mill recently erected by Captain Sutter, on the American Fork, gold has been found in considerable quantities. One person brought thirty dollars' worth to New Helvetia, gathered there in a short time.

California, no doubt, is rich in mineral wealth; great chances here for scientific capitalists. Gold has been found in almost every part of the country." The editor's confidence in the mineral wealth of California was at that moment unfounded, for the only other gold known was that at San Francisquito, in the *arroyo* above San Fernando, and placers there had proved unprofitable for lack of water. Marshall's find at Columa was not yet understood to have any deeper importance. His discovery of particles of free gold in the river had been made on January 18 and immediately communicated to Sutter; but the latter was anxious to finish the mill and get ready some lumber and in other ways make preparations for the anticipated rush. His efforts to keep the discovery secret did not prevail, however, for a teamster carried some of the shining metal to Samuel Brannan, then in charge of the store at New Helvetia, and this shrewd purveyor of supplies was not slow in publishing the tidings. Even so, it was two months in reaching the coast. San Francisco was one hundred miles away, the roads were nearly impassable with the spring rains, and even such news as this travelled slowly. The fact that gold sand was being scooped up by the handful on the banks of the South Fork once proclaimed, every able-bodied man in adjacent California prepared to reap the benefit. On June 1, Larkin (now naval agent of the United States at San Francisco) wrote to Secretary Buchanan, making due report of the discovery and its probable effect.[24] Twenty thousand dollars' worth of this gold had been brought to San Francisco during the last two

or three weeks, together with the statement that men were making $10, $20, and $50 a day at the diggings. Half the houses in San Francisco were empty, "the owners — storekeepers, lawyers, mechanics, and laborers — all gone to the Sacramento with their families." Teamsters who were earning from five to eight dollars a day had struck work and gone up the river. Several soldiers had already deserted, while the United States ship *Anita* retained but six of her marines. A schooner fresh from the Sandwich Islands had lost her entire crew. The harbor was crowded with merchantmen abandoned by the sailors. (The trade of the whaling vessels was finally lost because of this risk.) An American captain, finding that he could not hold his men, had formed a partnership with them for working the placers. He furnished seamen's wages, food, and tools, and was to give them one-third of the proceeds. The servants of a Chinese merchant, recently arrived, had deserted him for this "golden adventure." *The Californian* had suspended for lack of men, and *The Star* office had but one printer left. Writing again on June 28, 1848, after a visit to the American River, Larkin stated that there were then two thousand people on the American and Copines rivers, nine-tenths of them foreigners, and they had accumulated during the months of May and June two thousand dollars' worth of gold dust. Three-fourths of the houses in San Francisco were now deserted, and property was selling for the price of the ground alone. Both newspapers had suspended for lack of printers and subscribers. Monterey had caught the

infection, and was being deserted by its male inhabitants; "brick-yards, sawmills and *ranchos* are left perfectly alone." One hundred per cent advance in wages would not hold employees. The *alcaldes* of San Francisco and Sonoma had abandoned their posts, and society seemed on the verge of dissolution. Should the news reach the emigrants now on the road, the whole body would be diverted from Oregon to California. At least half the able-bodied men of Oregon (three thousand) came to California in the summer of 1848, leaving their crops unharvested, and but for the strenuous efforts of the women and children left behind, there would have been great suffering on the Willamette farms the following winter. (Joaquin Miller came to California with a party of Oregonians, 1851.) All Sonora seemed on the move; four thousand Mexicans arrived in California before 1849.

In a report to the secretary of war, dated August 17, 1848, Governor Mason described California as a land peopled by women and children, nearly all the men having gone to the mines. Desertion from the army had become a serious evil, and it would soon be impossible to keep a force sufficient to maintain order unless soldiers' wages were considerably advanced. Officers found it impossible to live on their salaries under the new and unprecedented conditions, and were held at their posts only by the sternest sense of duty. The governor describes a visit he had just made to Sutter's Fort and beyond. "Along the whole route mills were lying idle, fields of wheat were open to cattle and horses, houses were vacant and

farms going to waste." The *Embarcadero* on the river below the fort was thronged with traffic, — supplies and prospectors going out to the diggings and successful miners returning with their gold. At the Mormon Diggings, twenty-five miles up the South Fork, some two hundred men were at work with pans, Indian baskets, and cradles. At Coloma, twenty-five miles beyond, the scene was repeated. Mason estimated that there were four thousand men, half of them Indians, at work here and on the other tributaries of the Sacramento — the Feather, Yuba, Bear, and Consumnes rivers — and that the average yield per man was from one to three ounces per day. At the then price of gold (ten dollars per ounce) this would mean a total daily output of from $30,000 to $50,000. Every man, except the Indians, was working for himself. Sunol & Co. had a gang of thirty natives washing "dirt" on Weber's Creek. They had no comprehension of the worth of gold and were paid in food and clothing of far less value than their findings. On the North Fork of the American, Sinclair, a neighboring ranchman, had fifty Indians at work, and the net proceeds of five weeks' washing was $16,000 in gold dust. Captain Sutter, however, was not digging for gold, — not even at Columa, where his proprietary rights were respected by the miners; but he was carefully and with much difficulty gathering in his wheat crop. Since the yield should be forty thousand bushels and flour was selling at $36 per bushel, his decision to abide by his ranch was a wise one. Brannan, too, had stuck to his store, and his receipts in "dust" for the ten

weeks between May 1 and July 10 amounted to $36,000.

Sutter's diary of May 19 reads: "The great rush from San Francisco arrived at the Fort — all my friends and acquaintances filled up the houses and the whole fort. I had one little Indian boy to make them roasted ripps, etc., as my cooks left me like everybody else, the Merchants, Doctors, Lawyers, Sea-captains, etc., all came up and did not know what to do, all was in confusion, all left their wives and families in San Francisco, and those which had none locked their doors, abandoned their houses, offered them for sale cheap, a few hundred dollars, house and lot, some of these men were just like greazy [crazy]. Some of the most prudentest of the Whole, visited the mines and returned immediately and began to do a very profitable business, and vessels soon came from everywhere with all kind of Merchandize, the whole old trash which was lying for years unhoused, on the Coasts of South and Central America, Mexico, Sandwich Islands, etc. All found a good Market here." [25]

Mason's report was the most detailed information concerning the discovery that had thus far reached the Eastern states. It was published with the president's message sent to Congress on December 5. Guarded though its statements were, it produced a furor for California. The far-away and much debated acquisition seemed suddenly transformed into the fabled island of the Amazons, and men were ready to sacrifice all sober, workaday prospects for this chance to pick up gold without let or hinderance.

ROUTES TO CALIFORNIA, 1858.

Duration

120 to 150 days — By sailing vessels direct from London, Liverpool, Hamburg or Bremen — round Cape Horn

from 35 to 45 days — By Steamers from Liverpool, Southampton, or Hamburg & Bremen — to Aspinwall

from 33 to 40 days — By Steamers from Liverpool, London, or Hamburg & Bremen (or Sail — to New York or New Orleans from whence by Steamers to Aspinwall

from whence by rail in 3 Hours across the Isthmus to Panama — from Panama to San Francisco by Steamer

from 10 to 22 Steam 35 to 55 Sail & land travel from 100 to 150 days — By Steamers or Sail from the above parts to New York or New Orleans — from whence to St. Louis — from St. Louis across the plains by Waggons.

The waggon road now being constructed from the Mississippi to California will have military Stations every 15 miles.
The Pacific Railroad is almost laid out, and the Act for its construction may pass the Congress next year.
There is another crossing of the Isthmus through Nicaragua by Steam Boat up the river San Juan & only 12 miles land.
A railroad across Mexico (the Tehuantepec route) is in course of construction.

There was a rush to be first in the field. At the Atlantic ports ships were chartered for the four months' voyage round the Horn and crowded to the danger point. The Missourians and other frontiersmen organized parties to cross the Plains; but a shorter and less precarious route was opportunely provided by the new monthly mail service to California and Oregon, *via* Panama. William H. Aspinwall had secured the mail contract for the Pacific Coast, and sent three steamers round the Horn in 1849 to run between Panama and San Francisco.[26] George Law had made similar arrangements for the route between New York and Chagres. The first steamer sailed from New York just after the news of the gold discovery reached that city, and her passenger accomodations were stuffed with adventurers. When the ship reached Chagres, it appeared that a steamer from New Orleans had docked ahead of her, and there was a mad rush on the part of the passengers to get up the river and across the Isthmus to the Pacific side in time to catch the Aspinwall steamer. Unfortunately, the *California* was late, and the impatient crowd had to wait week after week in the dirty and miasma-infested little port. When the first ship-load of Easterners reached San Francisco late in February, 1849, they found a tent city thronged with fortune seekers. From every port in the Pacific men had sailed to the new Eldorado. Experienced miners from Sonora, Peru, and Chili, bringing their primitive tools, ex-convicts from Australia versed in methods of money-making, honest and dishonest, Kanakas from the Sandwich Islands,

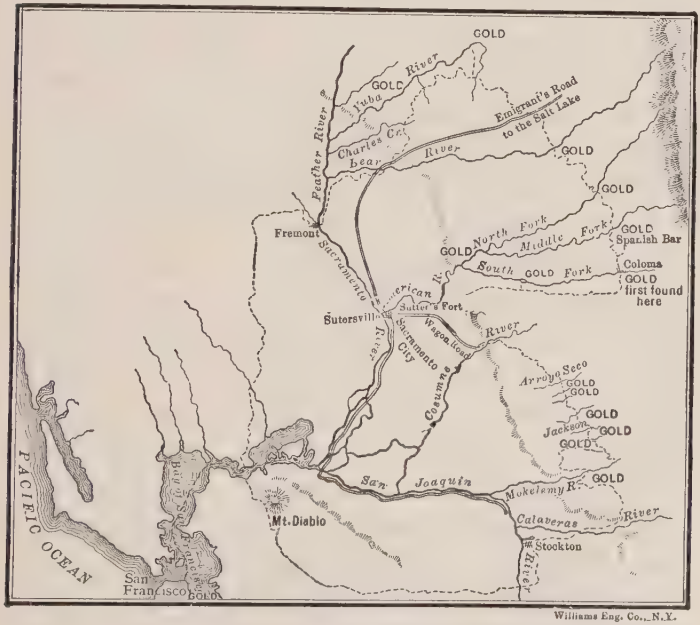
Chinese and Malays from the gambling dens of the Far East,—all bent on winning wealth from the golden sands of California. Larkin's report of June, 1848, states that nine-tenths of the men then in the field were foreigners. Hittell estimates that of the twenty thousand miners on the ground in 1849, only one-fourth were Americans. Certainly in the latter year the foreigners carried off three-fourths of the gold.[27]

Europe caught the fever in 1849, and from England, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall, from Germany and the Scandinavian Peninsula, even from France, the least migratory of nations, adventurers flocked to the far Pacific Coast. The revolutions of 1848, with the consequent industrial depression, had greatly increased the number of unemployed, and the prospect of gathering gold in a virgin land, where there were no vested rights, appealed to the proletariat. Five trading and mining companies were chartered in London before January 15, 1849. Emigrating companies were formed in Paris (La Californie, Lingot d'Or, Aurifère, etc.), and some four thousand of the poor were transported to California, the costs being met by lotteries. In addition to these assisted emigrants, many Frenchmen came on their own account, and many more deserted from the ships despatched to this new and promising market by the merchants of Paris and Bordeaux. The French were not very successful as miners because of their love of pleasure and their inability to organize effectively, and they gravitated to the towns. Here they grew prosperous keeping the restaurants, shops,

theatres, and saloons where the American miner spent his money. Miners returning from the diggings had exciting tales to tell of lucky strikes,—nuggets found lying in the bed of a stream and flakes of gold scooped from crevices in the cañon wall with dirk-knife and spoon; phenomenal losses, too,—hundreds of pounds of gold dust stolen by tricky partners or wandering thieves; tales also of the summary vengeance exacted by vigilance committees and lynch law.

The methods of getting out the gold were still of the simplest. Three or four men usually worked in company. The first shovelled the "dirt" from the bank or shoal of the river or from the "pay streak" of a near-by *arroyo*, another carried it to the water, a third rocked the "cradle,"—a semicircular trough with a perforated iron sieve at the upper end, through which the dirt was sifted and washed. The earth ran off with the water, while the gold dust and "black sand," having greater specific gravity, were caught on cleats fastened to the floor of the trough. The most experienced man of the "gang" was intrusted with the task of "panning out" the gold, *i.e.* blowing off the "black sand" (iron pyrites) and scraping up the virgin gold. The day's takings were divided equally among the partners, except the nuggets which, according to universal custom, were pocketed by the finder. For this simple operation, energy and good will were important factors, but no capital was necessary, and any ignoramus with muscle and endurance could succeed as well as a man of brains. The miners from Sonora and Chili had little advantage over an

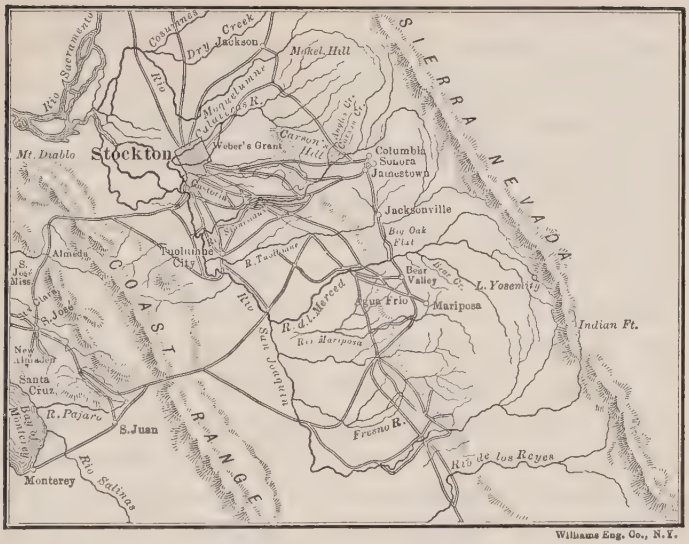
American farmer who had never seen a placer. Their rude tools — the pan, the *arrastra*,[28] and the amalgam process — were easily imitated, and the Americans were soon quite as expert as the best of them and even introduced labor-saving devices. The processes were purely mechanical, without resort to metallurgy, and very wasteful. Fully half the gold dust (one-twentieth in 1866, according to Hittell) was washed away down-stream. Where water was not to be had, the earth and gravel were ground up together and the dry powder was tossed from a pan into the air, so that the lighter earth and sand were blown away by the breath or the wind, and the gold fell back into the pan. This method was often prac-



THE NORTHERN MINES.

tised by the Sonorans. The Americans sometimes poured a stream of silt-laden water over the rough surface of a blanket.

The gold fields of California lay in the foot-hills of the Sierras at an elevation of from one thousand to five thousand feet, and comprised the westward slope of the great interior valley. For a distance of five hundred miles, the river wash, the *arroyos*, and even certain elevated plateaus like the Buttes, Tuolumne and Table Mountain were impregnated with grains and flakes and nuggets of gold. The treasure had evidently been brought down by erosion from veins hidden away in the Sierras, and the richness of the deposit and the quality of the gold varied according to conditions that could not be predicated by the most experienced miner. The whole area was divided, in miners' parlance, into a northern and a southern field; the former stretched from Mt. Shasta to American River, including the Sacramento River and its tributaries and the subsidiary fields along the Trinity and Klamath rivers; the latter ran from Mt. Whitney to Kern River and included two subordinate districts, the Salinas and San Fernando placers. The best-grade ores were found in the central area along the Tuolumne, Stanislaus and Calaveras rivers, and the deposits deteriorated toward either extreme wing. Painted black upon the map of California, this area would look like the shadow of a gigantic bird of prey settling down over the land. Throughout its length and breadth, the region was no-man's-land. With the exception of Sutter's ill-defined grants, all of the territory east



THE SOUTHERN MINES.

of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers was public property and at the disposal of the first comer. Governor Mason had indeed suggested that the land be surveyed into plots of from twenty to forty acres and that these be sold to the highest bidder for the benefit of the national treasury; but there was no force in the country sufficient to execute such a scheme, and no regulation of the mining claims was attempted for many years to come.

Over this unknown field the gold-seekers roamed at will. When the bars along the American and its tributary "forks" were exhausted, prospectors went down to the Consumnes and the Moquelumne, and found diggings equally rich. In 1850 the more restless spirits moved north to the Yuba, Bear, and Feather rivers and south to the Calaveras, Stanislaus,

and Tuolumne as far as the Mariposa. In 1851 mining operations were extended north to the Shasta and Trinity districts. There seemed to be no limit to this gratuitous wealth, and most men thought the supply inexhaustible. They hurried from stream to stream and from bar to bar, always hoping to better their chances of a lucky strike or to hit upon the "mother lode,"—the original vein of pure metal in which every "forty-niner" had profound faith. A vein of gold-bearing quartz was early discovered in the southern Sierras and traced by outcroppings from the Mariposa River north to the Moquelumne. The lucky prospectors had hardly set to work when they received notice that they were infringing on private land! Captain Fremont had purchased from Alvarado a floating grant (conceded to the latter by Micheltorema) to be located somewhere between the San Joaquin and the mountains. The thrifty hero had paid $3000 for the claim, intending to secure pasture-lands along the fertile bottoms of the San Joaquin; but when rumors of the mother lode reached him, he shifted his claim into the foothills. His rights were indorsed by the Jones report and sustained by the Land Commission, and the would-be exploiters of the quartz deposits were forced to withdraw. Las Mariposas grant was a subject of bitter contention, however, for years to come.[29]

The total intake of gold for 1848 was $5,000,000, for 1849, $40,000,000, and the output increased year by year. Butler King, the senator from Georgia who visited the diggings in 1849, reported five thousand men in the field and gave an optimistic augury

for the future of California. One hundred thousand persons found their way to California in the course of 1850, most of them able-bodied miners. William Kelley, an intelligent Irishman who made an extended tour of the mines this same year, gave his conclusions as follows: "The average daily income of the miners, embracing all the diggings, has been computed, by persons in a position to make the calculation, at eight dollars; which, . . . taking good mines and bad, energetic men and slothful, good workmen and those unused to toil, I consider tolerably near the mark. Let me next see the number of days this income can be reckoned on; we first subtract fifty-two Sundays [the miners invariably devoted their Sundays to recreation], and at least ninety-one days for the winter and high-water season, making together one hundred and forty-three days; or . . . [leaving] within a fraction of thirty-two weeks; then all miners allow at the rate of one day in the week for prospecting, seeking new ground, which leaves a residue of one hundred and ninety working days; from which I might and should deduct largely for sickness and other contingencies; but admitting one hundred and ninety days as the yearly average at 8 dollars per day, it yields a total of 1520 dollars, showing that something over 4 dollars per day for the year round is the miner's income." [30] Kelley concluded that a man could do much better as clerk or even as a day laborer at Sacramento, Stockton, or San Francisco, for his wages would be as good and his expenses far less. The usual rate of wages in the Coast towns was $5 per

day, a rate necessitated by scarcity of labor and by the hope, cherished by every laborer, of being able to make a lucky strike, should he go to the diggings.

That Kelley's conclusions were not pessimistic is clear from an investigation completed in the autumn of 1849, but not made public until 1851. Tyson's very interesting and scientific treatise, *Geology and Industrial Resources of California*, was much more conservative than Butler's report,[31] and his conclusions were calculated to dampen the ardor of a novice. "I was irresistibly led to the conclusion, that a very small proportion indeed of those who occupied themselves in collecting the metal *from the earth* were adequately rewarded, whilst the great body of them have done little, if any, more than to support themselves. And yet the severity of the labor, the privations and incidental personal exposure, are unequalled by any pursuit practised in our country. And as a necessary consequence, disease and death prevail so extensively as to bring distress and want upon many a family at home, whose members had been induced to hasten to El Dorado, under the hope of soon returning with wealth in abundance. The chances of getting rich by these means did not appear better than those of the lottery adventurer, who, in general, loses his money without impairing his health." [32] Even Butler King's estimate of the output of 1848 (for the nine months from June to December inclusive) at $5,000,000 would give no higher average than $1000 for each of the five thousand men at work in the diggings,—not a flattering showing when one considers the heavy expense involved and

the back-breaking character of the work. To stand in cold running water, with a hot sun shining on one's head, engaged in a task that strained every muscle in one's body, was a severe test of endurance. "The art of gold-digging," said a man who had tried it, "is unequalled by any other in the world in severity. It combines within itself the arts of canal-digging, ditching, laying stone walls, ploughing, and hoeing potatoes."

The cost of living varied with distance from San Francisco, the means of transportation, and the season. The camps on the American, Yuba, and Feather rivers which could be reached by boat got abundant provisions, though prices sometimes rose to famine height only to drop sharply when a steamer arrived. The diggings on the mountain streams could be reached only by pack-mule, and the supply was very uncertain. In the rainy season the charge for freighting goods to the Stanislaus River was $1 per pound, and the goods retailed at from $1.50 to $3 per pound. Flour sold for $1.50 per pound, pork for $1.25, and boots for two ounces of gold ($20) a pair. On the remote Trinity River diggings, the winter prices were $5 per pound for flour, $4 for pork, and $3 for beans. At such rates few men could do more than make living expenses, the gains of the summer being rapidly eaten up in the six months during which work was impossible because of the constant rains and the flooded rivers. The men who reaped the golden harvest were those who purveyed to the necessities and the vices of the miners. "The storekeeper, or the gaming-house keeper, is the ravenous shark who swallows up all. The majority of the gold-finders, if they

avoid the demon of the [gambling] hells, are at the mercy of the ogre of the store, who crams them first and devours them after. . . . Only in few instances have men been sufficiently fortunate and prudent steadily to accumulate gold." [33]

The well-nigh inevitable effect of the wearing labor, the prolonged excitement, the careless life in tent or brush hut, the insufficient and often stale and unwholesome food, was a physical breakdown. The unaccustomed exposure to heat and cold, drought and wet, brought on scurvy, dysentery, and malaria. An English physician, Tyrwhitt Brooks, who worked in the northern field in 1849, testifies that at the end of the summer two-thirds of the men in the camps he visited were unable to leave their tents. In the autumn of 1849, a hospital was improvised at Stockton for the wrecks of men who were returning from the southern placers, many of whom were crazed by the rapid alternation of success and failure and the desperate chances of the miner's lot.

The mania continued none the less, and the influx of fortune-hunters augmented year by year. The excitement was kept alive by reports of lucky finds, sedulously spread abroad by merchants and transportation agents, and by the romantic accounts of California written by enthusiastic visitors such as Bayard Taylor and W. G. Stillman. Narratives of fabulous strikes and sudden wealth were eagerly caught up by the Eastern press and widely disseminated, while the steamer editions of the California papers were filled with glowing accounts of the riches yet to be unearthed. Only the successes were re-

ported. Few of the thousands of men who returned home poorer than they came, and broken in health and spirits, attempted to relate their experiences.[34] The new-comers were most of them in a credulous mood, ready to be taken in by the most unlikely project. The Gold Bluff fake is an instance. Some shrewd prospectors brought to San Francisco an account of the rich deposits carried down to the coast by the Klamath River and deposited on the beach below its mouth. On the basis of this tale, a company was organized to exploit the promising field, a large amount of stock was subscribed, and claims bought up at a fabulous price. A ship was chartered and equipped with the most approved washers and sluices, and its cabins and deck space were filled to overflowing. Other vessels advertised sailings to the same point. When, all too late, an expert was sent on to inspect the property, the golden sands were reported to bear only an inappreciable amount of "dust." Another bonanza was announced in 1855. Rumors of extensive "bars," unprecedentedly rich, along the Kern River, occasioned a mad rush to that remote region. Good diggings on the Stanislaus and Carson Creek were abandoned, and miners trudged over the three hundred miles of parched prairie beyond the Tulares to the extreme southern limit of the Great Valley. When they reached their goal, strength exhausted and provisions spent, they found that the vaunted placers panned out but poorly, the gold being scarce and of inferior quality. The outraged miners looked about for the originator of the hoax and fixed upon the storekeeper, who was reaping a

rich harvest off the befooled prospectors. A volunteer court declared him guilty of death, and he was promptly hanged and his goods confiscated to the needs of the impoverished community. Not all the promoters of that early day met with so summary punishment, and every steamer brought a new supply of gullibles.

The gold dust accumulated at such heavy cost speedily changed hands, usually finding its way to the men who had not worked for it. Every mining camp was infested with middlemen who levied "a silent tax" (Carson's phrase) on these reckless communities. There were purveyors to need, pleasure, and vice; storekeepers and proprietors of hotels and restaurants, of saloons and gambling hells, bogus physicians and lewd women, all eager to rid the fortunate miners of their gains. Few were the men who had sufficient self-control to resist the temptation to spend extravagantly the gold that seemed so abundant. Placer-mining was in itself a game of chance of the most exciting kind. To stake the day's winnings at the gambling table in the evening was but the logical sequence. "Gambling seemed to be the ruling passion. There was no value set on money, as it would not procure the comforts of life, or amusement, or pleasure to the holders; millions of dollars were recklessly squandered at the gaming tables and drinking shops." [35]

An impartial study of the records of the first decade of the gold fever will prove that not the miners, but the men who had the good sense to stick to ordinary business, made the permanent fortunes. Weber, the

Gold-washing in New Mexico.

Indian trader at French Camp, suddenly found himself the sole dispenser of supplies to the mushroom city of Stockton, and he sent *atajos* laden with gold to the Coast. The man who bought an abandoned steamer, improvised a crew, and carried the gold-seekers and their supplies up the Sacramento or the San Joaquin, — the merchants who sent trains of pack-mules along the river beds and *arroyos*, — the ranchmen who sold horses that had cost them $20 for $200 and fat cattle that had brought $6 in 1848 for from $100 to $200, accumulated solid fortunes. Gold dust sold at the mines for $10 in 1849 and for $16 in 1852; but it was worth still more ($18) at the United States mint. The express companies that were organized to carry supplies to the camps bought the precious metal at the mines, transported it to San Francisco and thence by ship to New York, and reaped a very tidy profit on the transaction. Sutter had an extraordinary chance to build up a fortune and, in spite of his frontier habit of miscellaneous hospitality, made money in the initial years; but he spent it all in defending his title to his princedom on the Sacramento.

It is evident to any one who reads between the lines the history of the "golden age" that the discovery of precious metals is likely to be a curse to the country where they are found as well as to the men who spend strength and fortune in the mines. The men and the nations who ultimately profit by the discovery are those who provide the means of life to the actual workers. This valuable bit of wisdom was early divined by the merchants of the

Atlantic seaports. Consignments of food, clothing, liquors, and patented mining devices were despatched round the Horn. One New York Yankee shipped a number of ready-made wooden houses so constructed as to be easily put together, and sold them to advantage in San Francisco, notwithstanding the enormous freightage (sixty cents per square foot). Australia sent "tin houses," and from China came clothing and boxes of spoiled tea, as well as laborers. The merchants of Honolulu despatched ship-loads of provisions, sugar and beef and flour, even building stone from the coral reefs. The return cargo was not infrequently tons of soiled linen sent to the washerwomen of the Islands to avoid the San Francisco charge of $8 per dozen.

So the finders of the golden fleece scattered their treasure far and wide. The chief gains accrued to Yerba Buena. Other harbors on the spacious Bay had contended for the miners' traffic — Benicia, Vallejo's colony to the north of Estrecho Carquines, and the New York of the Pacific — a mushroom town on the opposite shore; but the half-moon bay which Simpson had chosen for the site of his trading post because of its neighborhood to the farms of the Santa Clara Valley, absorbed the bulk of the ocean trade. Yerba Buena boasted forty families and two hundred inhabitants at the end of the Mexican régime, and the advent of the Mormons in July, 1846, doubled the population. Yet in August of 1847 there were but four hundred and fifty Americans in the place. They adopted the name of the Bay as the name of their town, and proceeded to plan for a

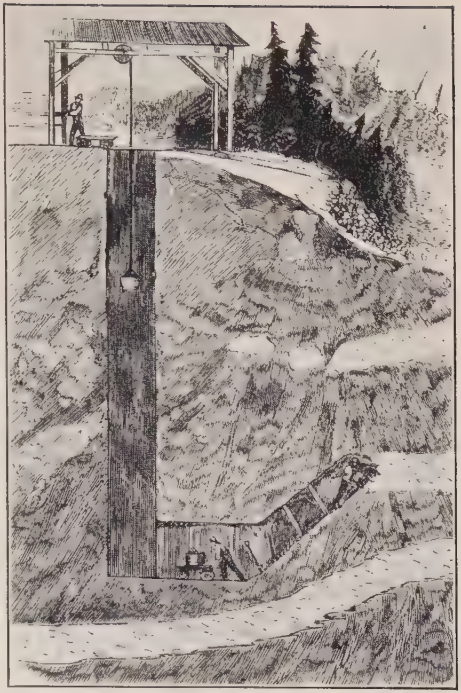
great commercial future such as the devotees of St. Francis had never dreamed. The population in the winter of 1849–1850 was estimated at fifty thousand, and the canvas tents, tin houses, and wooden cabins were scattered all the way from the beach to Telegraph Hill. Hither came the ships from Canton, Honolulu, and Sydney, the steamers from Panama, the swift clippers that made the voyage round the Horn from New York in three months. Here on the broad sands of Millers Point were deposited the crates of clothing and food-stuffs brought from far-away lands. The incoming adventurers must fain spend a few days or weeks in San Francisco before setting out for the diggings and patronize living accommodations that ranged in quality and price from a shack of rough boards on the beach to the St. Francis Hotel, "where you can get good fare and the luxury of sheets for seven dollars per day."[36] Here, too, came the returning miners to spend their money or, more often, to earn enough at day labor to carry them through the winter.

The roadstead between the port and Contra Costa was crowded with ships which, deserted by their crews or unable to obtain a return cargo, lay swinging idly at anchor. Some of these vessels were utilized as living quarters. The little bay was alive with rowboats, scows, and lighters, plying between the inhabited vessels and the shore. The boatmen began by charging a $2 fare, but in so doing they overreached themselves. "Intercourse between the shipping and town is so costly and inconvenient, that judiciously assorted shops, constructed on lighters, ply amongst the fleet, to supply those vari-

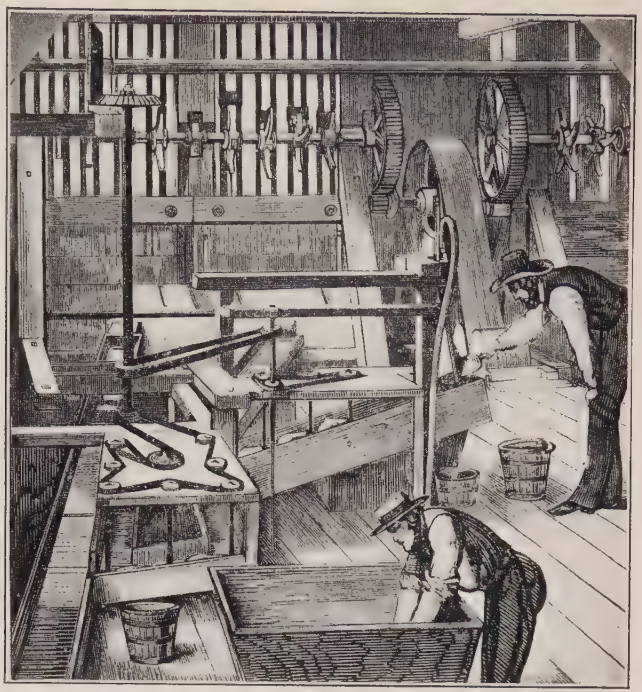
ous wants that it would not be worth while to go ashore for at the expense of two dollars."[37] In vain the ferrymen protested against the innovation. Even the day of the floating shop was brief. Already piers were being built out into deep water for the accommodation of ocean steamers, and "submarine lots" were sold in anticipation of the time when the crescent harbor would be filled in from the sand-dunes back of the town. At one of the wharves was moored a thousand-ton steamer, and the owners had fitted her up with offices and storage room. The rental from these shabby quarters brought them in more revenue than the vessel could have earned afloat. The value of real estate was mounting by leaps and bounds. A lot purchased for $800 in the spring of 1848 sold for $8000 in the autumn. The legal rate of interest was fixed at ten per cent per year (1850), but the actual rate ran at three per cent, four per cent, and even five per cent a month.

San Francisco was the creation of the gold craze. The Golden Gate was the natural avenue to the "diggings," for the eastern arm of the Bay led directly to the navigable rivers of the interior, and ship-loads of men and goods were transported on river steamers to the interior towns. From San Francisco, too, the treasure was exported to New York, London, and Canton, and this exportation did not diminish as the output of the mines slackened.[38] Mexican silver, moreover, was shipped to China and East India more speedily and cheaply by way of San Francisco than *via* Southampton.[39]

The richest and most accessible diggings were soon



Breaking Gold Quartz from the Vein.



Interior of a Quartz Mill, in Grass Valley.

exhaused, and it became impossible for a group of laborers, no matter how skilful or well organized, to support themselves with shovel, pan, and rocker. Larger companies were organized to turn a river from its bed and expose new deposits or to build a reservoir in some mountain torrent and conduct the water by flumes and ditches to "dry diggings" otherwise unworkable.[40] This necessitated capital, for months must often be spent in bringing the project to completion. Not infrequently a group of men lumped their savings and built a ditch, but the most successful of these undertakings were put through by entrepreneurs who brought in capital and were able to hire labor. Water companies were organized, and the *sine qua non* of placer mining was sold to the miners at from fifty cents to $1 per inch.[41] Such enterprises were highly profitable, paying from four per cent to twenty per cent and even forty per cent per month on the investment.[42] Provided with a steady stream of water which could be used during the dry season and at points remote from the rivers, a party of four men could take out from $30 to $100 worth of gold per day, and could therefore afford to pay $10 per day for water. The "long tom" — an improved rocker — or the sluice was used in the later years of placer mining, and the "tailings" scraped from the cleats at the end of the day's work were subjected to the quicksilver process, so that the minutest particles of gold were extracted. The next improvement, introduced in 1851, was to wash out the "pay" dirt by hydraulic power. One hose and pipe did the work of twelve men, at one-fourth the cost; but an abundant supply of water

under heavy pressure was necessary, and the hydraulic process could be undertaken only by companies with considerable capital.

The next step in the evolution of the industry was the excavation of the quartz rock.[43] The first deep mining was attempted before machinery could be brought to bear. These amateur efforts were called "cayote holes," and the ore brought up was crushed by a roller drawn over a stone pavement, a primitive device introduced by the Mexican miner. As soon as machinery could be got in, shafts were driven and timbered and stamp-mills erected, and the business of quartz mining was well under way.

Each step in this evolution meant the increasing use of capital, the necessity for directing and organizing ability, and the subordination of labor. The tendency was bitterly protested by the "forty-niners," who held that the golden opportunity belonged to every American citizen and should not be monopolized. But the day of the self-employed miner was past. "A year or two more will suffice to exhaust most of the metal which is readily accessible; after which, a prize will so seldom be met with, to sustain the hopes of the poorly rewarded gold-digger, that he will find it his interest to work at moderate wages for those who are possessed of the requisite means, skill and knowledge to manage the business '*secundum artem*,' and provide comfortable homes for those whom they employ. . . . When that shall happen, most of the ground which had been previously scratched over will be systematically worked again."[44] Successful quartz mining could not be

carried on, however, until good government and secure titles were assured, wages and living expenses had declined, and adequate capital with appropriate machinery had been brought into the country.

The mining code devised by the men first in the field — whether by unwritten agreement between partners or by the more or less formal conclusions of a miners' convention — was most democratic. The universally recognized principle allowed every man the usufruct of as much land as he could work to advantage, and the dimensions of a claim varied from ten to one hundred feet square according to the quality of the "dirt," the difficulty of working, and the number of miners in the field. The discoverer of the bar was, however, entitled to first choice and to double the usual portion.[45] A man's title held only so long as he worked the claim. A certain amount of earth must be taken out each week, and an absence of five consecutive days might entail forfeiture. The claim, if it proved valuable, was staked out, and a notice of ownership posted; but a tool left on the spot was sufficient evidence of occupation. By 1851 there were notaries at the principal camps, and thereafter titles were officially recorded and might be legally transferred, formal witnesses being required for the validity of the transaction. Originally no man might hold more than one claim; but purchase made possible the ownership of considerable tracts. Notwithstanding the recommendations of Governor Mason and Butler King, Congress imposed no royalty and took no measures looking to the survey and sale of the mineral lands. By 1852 quartz

claims were regulated by the several county conventions. In Nevada County, one hundred feet along the ledge was allotted to one claim, including "all dips, spurs, angles and variations"; in Sierra County, two hundred feet. Each claim was staked and registered, and work to the extent of $100 must be put in every year until the operating company was formed and a stamp-mill costing at least $5000 was contracted for in good faith. Then a deed guaranteeing undisturbed possession was granted by the county authorities. When the United States surrendered to the state of California title to all the mines of gold and silver within its boundaries, these customs were enacted into law. Their democratic provisions lie at the foundation of all subsequent legislation on the part of Congress and the legislatures of the Rocky Mountain states.

The feeling against hired labor in the diggings was originally very strong, and the taking up of claims on behalf of employees was ruled out. The prejudice against foreigners arose in part out of the attempt of moneyed men to introduce gangs, not only of Indians and negro slaves, but of Kanakas, Chinese, and Malays into the field. But the agitation did not stop at hired laborers. No sooner had it become evident that the field was limited, and that there would not be room for all comers, than the American miners demanded that the diggings be reserved for *bona fide* citizens of the United States, and that all foreigners be excluded. In the spring of 1849, there were fifteen thousand aliens in the southern field, — Mexicans, Chilians, and Peruvians for the

most part. The attempt to drive them out by force and fraud was so far successful that the number was reduced to five thousand before the season closed. The Irish and German miners were even more ruthless than the Missourians in their enmity against "greasers" and Kanakas. The movement extended to the towns, notably San Francisco, where the "Hounds" organized to rid the place of Mexicans and the native Californians, with whom they were confused.

In deference to this anti-foreign feeling of the miners — then the most influential class in the state — the first legislature passed (1850) the Foreign Miners' Tax Law requiring of all miners, not citizens or natives of California, licenses for which a fee of $20 per month must be paid. Non-compliance was punishable by expulsion. This law was repealed in the following year, but a charge of $3 and later $4 per month was substituted. Even so, collection of the tax was not infrequently attended by outbreaks and general disorder. The collectors were paid a commission of ten, fifteen, and even twenty per cent of the proceeds, and they were prone to extort money fraudulently from the weak and defenceless. The fee was rarely demanded of English, Irish, or German miners, but no dark-skinned race escaped. Edouard Auger recounts that some French miners, organized for the purpose of diverting the flow of the Stanislaus River, were driven from the spot by a party of Mormons, and several of them were killed. Borthwick records a similar occurrence on the Mariposa. The effect of this unjust legislation and the iniquitous practices permitted in its execution was to promote anarchy

in the diggings and to drive the outraged foreigners to lawless retaliation. The Mexicans usually refused to pay the fee and abandoned the mines in a body, while the better class of foreigners, notably those with property, were deterred from coming to California. In San Francisco, Stockton, Sacramento, and the mining towns, their absence was felt as a serious check to trade, and the merchants and hotel proprietors as well as the employing class protested that ruin was in store. It was this influence that brought about the abatement of the tax.[46]

Section VII

Financial Depression and the Revival of Normal Industries

As the placer mines were gradually exhausted, the earnings of the miners dwindled year by year. The returns of 1848 were phenomenal, and many of the first comers realized two or three ounces per day for the mining season. Conservative estimates for 1849 give $8 as the average earnings per man per day. This average fell to $6 in 1850, $4 in 1851, and $1 in 1852. It was then generally conceded that a man could earn more at day's wages in any other pursuit. But for the introduction of machinery and the development of hydraulic and quartz mining, the gold fields would have been abandoned perforce. Even so, the total output fell off. It had been $5,000,000 in 1848, rose to $40,000,000 in '49, to $50,000,000 in '50, to $60,000,000 in '51, and $65,000,000 in '53. Then the tide turned. The returns dropped to $60,000,000

in '54 and to $55,000,000 in '55. Since gold was practically the only product of California and had superseded all other exports, this shrinkage of $10,000,000 in two years produced a financial revolution. The number of immigrants sharply declined from 58,000 in 1854 to 29,000 in '55 and 23,000 in '57. The miners who had the wherewithal to pay for transportation left the country,[47] and those who had nothing laid by, flocked to the towns in search of employment. The effect for the merchants, hotel proprietors, saloon, and gambling-house keepers, who had been making fortunes by purveying to the spendthrift gold-diggers, was disastrous.

The sudden collapse of business was felt especially in San Francisco, the center of trade and the focus of all the mad speculation of the past five years. The market was glutted with goods brought in by the clipper ships, and valuable cargoes were sold at a loss or left to rot unsheltered on the wharves. Warehouses and office buildings stood empty, and rentals that had paid from three hundred to one thousand per cent on the original investment, dwindled till they did not meet running expenses. The value of real estate shrank to one-half or one-third, land would not sell at any price, and mortgageors lost heavily. Foreign investors took fright, began to look into their California stock, and faced failure. The rates of interest dropped from five per cent a month to two and three per cent even with good security, and there was a sudden halt in the influx of capital. But a small fraction of the $456,000,000 worth of gold produced in the country between 1848 and 1856 remained

there, and this residue was not available capital, — was not even legal currency.[48] Seyd estimates that of the maximum output of 1853, $40,000,000 was exported in payment for goods, $10,000,000 as interest on foreign capital, and $15,000,000 was carried away by returning miners.

That the more risky ventures should come to nothing was inevitable, but business foundations were shaken by the sudden revelation of fraud and peculation on a gigantic scale. Henry Meigs, a prominent business man who had been involved in the North Beach land speculation, had made use of his intimate relations with the city government to forge vouchers for drafts on the municipal treasury under cover of his numerous street contracts. When exposure became inevitable, he fled the country, leaving debts to the amount of $800,000, and his defalcation involved many of his creditors and indorsers. There were seventy-seven bankruptcies in the course of the year 1854, and the liabilities ran up into the millions. On February 17, 1855, the Panama steamer brought news of the failure of the Ohio and Mississippi Railway, and it was learned that Page & Bacon, a branch of the St. Louis House, had sent home $2,000,000 in gold to stave off ruin. A run on the bank followed, and on February 23 the proprietors were obliged to suspend. The effect of the failure of this leading bank was disastrous. There were one hundred and ninety-seven bankruptcies in San Francisco in 1855, with liabilities amounting to $8,000,000, and few people escaped heavy loss. No failure was so widely felt and so disastrous in its

ultimate effects as that of Adams and Company's Express, founded by Alvin Adams of the Adams Express Company of New York. The firm had agencies in Sacramento and Stockton, and had bought out the local expresses and established messenger service to every considerable mining camp in the northern and southern fields. They had opened a bank in San Francisco and branch banks in the interior towns, and they shipped more gold to New York than any other house in California. The collapse of this mammoth concern ruined thousands of men in every district of the gold fields, and the disaster seemed universal.

The immediate effect of the panic was to prostrate all industry and to produce in the minds of foreign and Eastern investors a wholesale distrust of everything Californian. The ultimate effect was to put all business on a firmer, because more rational, basis. The speculative mania was silenced for the time being; visionary projects for paying high dividends on the basis of unknown mineral deposits and experimental machinery could no longer deceive the public. The idle, vicious, and vagabond element deserted the mining camps and was soon drained off to Australia (1852), Frazer's River (1858), and Nevada(1859), in pursuit of these new opportunities to pick up a fortune without labor. The men who remained in the mines had learned that here, as in older countries, the price of success was hard work and unremitting attention to scientific methods of developing the latent supply of gold. Henceforth the requisite machinery was manufactured in California, more

cheaply than it could be imported, and on models much better adapted to local conditions. The labor no longer needed in the mines was diverted to agriculture, and camp supplies began to be produced at home; bread-stuffs, meat, lumber, beer, whiskey, sugar, shoes, woollen shirts, and blankets were soon turned out, of a quality that enabled them to compete with Eastern goods, and sufficient in quantity to supply the market.

The output of the gold district continued to decline, falling to $50,000,000 in 1858 and to $45,000,000 in 1860. During the decade of the Civil War there was a shrinkage from year to year, till in 1868 the nadir point of $22,000,000 was reached. But luckily for the business men of California, other mineral wealth was brought to light. The Comstock Lode was discovered just beyond the crest of the Sierras, and these rich mines yielded $80,000,000 worth of silver between 1859 and 1869. All the bullion was exported *via* San Francisco, and most of the "bonanza kings" elected to spend their money in the towns about the Bay. Veins of cinnabar had been found in the Coast Range above the Santa Clara Valley by the mission fathers, and a little quicksilver taken out. Alexander Forbes, who succeeded to their rights, had been working the deposits for twenty years, but in primitive and costly fashion. The ore was carried out of the pit in rawhide sacks on the backs of Indians and transported in wooden-wheeled carts to furnaces situated in the valley, where wood and water were available. It was there roasted in chambers formed of trying kettles purchased from the

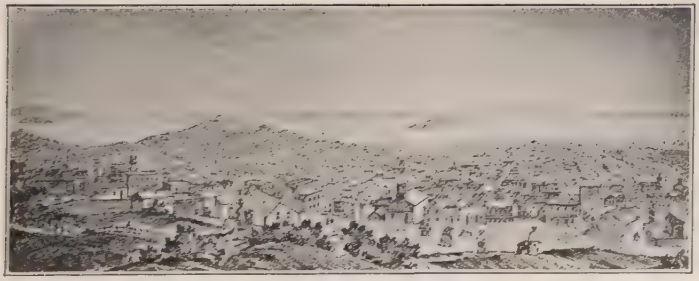
whalers, and the volatilized mercury was chilled in another chamber of like construction. Forbes' daily output was 328 pounds, and the metal was shipped to Mazatlan, where it sold for $1.80 per pound. Under the American régime, modern appliances were introduced, and the yield at New Almaden increased to 23,740 flasks (75 lb. each) in 1856 and 43,000 in 1864, — enough to supply the demand created by the gold and silver smelters of the Sierras and to admit of large exportations besides. The pools of natural asphalt at Los Angeles had been long utilized by the *pobladores* for smearing the roofs of their houses. The bitumen was now scientifically worked and came into general use. The salt marshes about the Bay furnished another opening for business enterprise, since the long, dry summers were well suited to evaporation.

Possessed of the best port on the Pacific, vis-à-vis to the Orient recently opened by treaty to American trade, the commercial opportunities of California were unexcelled. In 1856, in the midst of the financial depression, her exports, other than bullion, amounted to $4,000,000, and of this sum total, more than one-fourth was made up of bread-stuffs and lumber sent to the gold fields of Australia. Whalers' supplies to the value of $250,000 were despatched to the merchants of Honolulu, while to the British and Russian fur traders in the north Pacific more than $150,000 worth of goods was consigned. The return cargoes — horses and hogs from the Sandwich Islands, ice from Sitka, and coal from Bellingham — proved highly profitable importations. Helper, one of

the disgruntled gold-seekers, had summed up his impressions of California thus: "Her spacious harbors and geographical position are her true wealth; her gold fields and arid hills are her poverty." [49] San Francisco was still the principal port on the Pacific Coast, and its commerce, reduced to a rational basis, bade fair to increase with the development of the resources of the country.

The Panama Railway was completed in 1855, reducing the distance between San Francisco and New York to 5700 miles and the time to twenty-five days. Until the completion of the transcontinental railway, all the passengers and the fast freight from the Eastern states came by this route, and the round-the-Horn voyage was abandoned for all but slow freight. A steamer cleared from Panama twice a month, and was sighted off Point Lobos with the regularity of a ferry-boat. The return steamer sailed on the fifth and twentieth of each month, and for fifteen years "steamer day" was a business event. The preparation of the cargoes, the assembling of the $2,000,000 in gold shipped to New York, the getting ready of the mail for the East, involved an amount of labor that absorbed the energies of half the men in the town. San Francisco was the point at which centered all the industrial activities of the state, and its commerce rivalled that of Boston. It was the terminus of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the California Steam Navigation Company—a corporation that monopolized the river traffic—the California and Pioneer Stage Company, the Adams and Wells Fargo Express companies. Here were the great banks

San Francisco, Winter of 1849–50.
View from Rincon Point.



San Francisco in 1857.
View from Nob Hill.

and the great commercial houses. The population of San Francisco was one-fourth that of the state, and half the taxes of California were levied upon her property-holders.

Agriculture

Tyson protested that "the proportion of labor employed for digging gold . . . was altogether too great for the true interest of either California or the older states,"[50] and called attention to the agricultural resources in which he believed the real wealth of the country consisted. "If the talents, means, and labor already misapplied in preparations for mining and grinding quartz had been devoted to agriculture and other pursuits adapted to the country, it would have been better for all parties." The gold mania had blinded men's eyes to the surer profits to be derived from producing more useful commodities.

There were a few exceptions. Sutter, for example, hoped to operate his sawmill and supply lumber for the rapidly building mining towns, to harvest his wheat and pack flour to the "diggings," to make up in his tannery and workshops the leather and shoes and woollen blankets needed by the miners. He had a magnificent opportunity, but his well-laid plans were swept into ruin by the tidal wave of gold-seekers. It was impossible to hold laborers to such humdrum tasks, with the lure of the "diggings" close at hand. The grain was left to rot in the fields, the workshops were abandoned, the mills stood idle, the hungry emigrants slaughtered Sutter's cattle, led off his horses, and squatted on his land. His fort proved to be too

far from the Sacramento for convenience, and trade gravitated to the *Embarcadero* three miles below. Disgusted with the ingratitude of the Americans, the some-time friend of the overlanders moved to Hock Farm, eleven miles below Marysville, where he spent the remnant of his fortune in a vain defence of his title. John Bidwell, Sutter's former lieutenant, was more fortunate. He had acquired a grant of twenty thousand acres on Butte Creek and was growing wheat and fruit with marked success. Other American ranchmen located along the emigrant road were making fortunes by selling provisions to the prairie schooners. Eggs were sold at twenty-five cents apiece, milk at $1 per quart, and butter at $4 per pound. The way-worn cattle and mules were bought at bottom prices and fattened for the market. Where the immigrant would not sell, the obliging *ranchero* undertook to pasture his animals at $2 a head, charging $2 additional for insurance against theft. The farmers of the Santa Clara Valley also were busily engaged in "skimming the cream off the diggings." They were raising barley, vegetables, and fruit, luxuries for which there was a never-failing demand in the mining camps. In the San Joaquin the droves of wild horses furnished a short cut to wealth. They were trapped in corrals, lassoed, and driven to the nearest town, where they brought $40 or $50 apiece. Mule teams were worth $300 and fat cattle $30 per head. A butcher's apprentice, Henry Miller of Wurtemberg, arrived in San Francisco (1850) on a German steamer, looked about, and saw his chance to make money. He bought a steer of a Mexican *vaquero*

and opened a meat shop. Other Mexicans brought him more steers, for which he paid $5 apiece without asking where they were found. So he gradually built up a flourishing business. Later Miller fenced large tracts of land along the San Joaquin River and raised his own cattle, always with the aid of the Mexicans, whose loyalty to a patron made them reliable herders, and by an amendment to the Homestead Act exempting fenced lands and swamp lands from homestead entry, he came into possession of great estates rivalling those of the Spanish *rancheros*.[51]

The necessity for transporting supplies to the mines had placed a premium on the raising of horses and mules, for oxen were too slow and cumbersome for the mountain trails. Tradition has it that the California horses were of Arab stock; certainly they had many good points. For herding cattle and for hard riding they could not be surpassed, but they were too slight and vicious for driving or for farm work. The Americans brought in some Kentucky Morgans and some English racing blood; a marked improvement in the breed followed, and excellent roadsters were developed. A few horse breeders imported Clydesdale stallions and produced draught animals of a weight and strength hardly inferior to the English.[52] By 1870 three-fourths of the horses in the state were of mixed blood, not so healthy and enduring as the Mexican stock, but larger, handsomer, and more docile. The mares and stallions still ran in *manadas* or studs, and the animals desired for use or sale were corralled and lassoed and broken to harness by the rough, old-time methods. Since

the range was free and no food or shelter had to be provided, a horse ranch was sure to bring in money.

California was the best of cattle lands. The wild oats that covered the hillsides made an inexpensive natural fodder, little less nutritious than the cultivated oats of the Eastern states. The "filaree" had spread from the south to the north coasts and back into the interior, and furnished a rank, rich pasturage and an ungarnered harvest of seeds that blackened the ground and afforded a much-needed autumn feed. Bunch-grass cured on the stalk in the foot-hills and made an excellent winter fodder. The equable temperature rendered barns unnecessary, even in winter, and pasture land required no fencing, since the law made the owner of tilled fields responsible for this precaution. The mild climate was highly favorable to breeding, and the fecundity of all domestic animals astonished new-comers. Cows, mares, and ewes matured a year earlier than in the East, and bore more frequently. There were, moreover, few of the diseases that afflicted the herds of older countries. Horses and cattle fed on the open range, moving from the valleys to the hill pastures with the advance of the season. Twice each year, once in the spring and again in the autumn, the herds of a given district were rounded up in great *rodeos*. Then every ranchman selected his own colts and calves, branded them and turned them out on the range for another season. The several brands were kept on view at the county recorder's office, and afforded the sole evidence of proprietorship.

The life of the *rancho* did not differ much from that of the Spanish era. The *vaqueros* were, for the most part, native Californians or Indians, and the cattle were of the old long-horned, scrawny Spanish breed. Some blooded stock, Durham and Devon, had been driven across the Plains, and the intermingling had brought up the weight and quality of the animals to a marked degree. Cattle were no longer bred for hides and tallow merely, but for abattoir and dairy purposes as well, and it is safe to say that more fortunes were won from cattle than from gold. The Coast counties, where the fogs kept the pastures green throughout the year, were still the "cow counties," and the dairy interest centered about the Bay; but the ranges of the upper San Joaquin — Fresno, Merced, Tulare, and Kern counties — fed fully one-third of the cattle of the state. Here, during the spring and summer, pasture was abundant, but the fall months from October to January brought serious difficulty. If precipitation had been scant the preceding season, the pasture was likely to fail. Early autumn rains were almost equally disastrous, for they drenched the dried grass and deprived it of nutriment. In either case a considerable number of cattle died of starvation. During the drought of 1858, seventy thousand cattle perished in the south alone. The drought of 1863–1864 carried off between two and three hundred thousand cattle — two-thirds of the herds of the southern counties — and cattle-raising dropped to the second and third and fourth rank in the scale of industrial interest.[53] The native pasturage came to be regarded

as an uncertain reliance, and men who had suitable soil supplemented it by cultivated fodders,—barley, etc. Many of the great ranches were divided and sold to farmers. The mountain ranges were converted into sheep runs.

The conditions for sheep-raising were ideal; the mild winters, the dry lambing season, the abundant mountain pasture, the absence of foot-rot and other diseases, made possible an extraordinarily rapid increase at minimum cost. An annual increment of from eighty to one hundred per cent could be reckoned on. The only serious drawbacks were the burr clover, which injured the wool and enhanced the expense of cleaning it, and the coyotes that preyed upon the flocks and carried off the lambs. It was necessary that the flock should be shepherded by day and corralled at night, but since one Mexican *pastor* could take care of a thousand sheep, this was not a heavy item. There were few sheep in California in 1846. Several flocks were driven in from New Mexico by the early American immigrants, but they were of degenerate breed with long necks and slim bodies, endowed with an excess of horn and a short, coarse, and scanty fleece, and produced but little mutton or wool. The importation of some French and Spanish merinos, also Southdowns and Cotswolds, quickly brought up the standard. The first man to undertake this business began in 1853 with nine hundred ewes. Within ten years he had ten thousand sheep, sixteen thousand acres of land, and other property to the value of $100,000. Wool-growing was, for some time after the drought of 1863–1864,

the most profitable industry in California. The wool was of high quality (selling for twenty-three cents a pound with an average yield of four pounds and two ounces), and brought in a steady revenue. The expense of maintenance on the large ranches was not more than thirty to fifty cents a head, but half the value of the fleece. Fleece and lamb together, a fine blooded ewe repaid eight or ten times the cost of her keep.[54]

Tillage did not keep pace with the grazing interests for several obvious reasons. Timber was scarce, and the cost of fencing cultivated fields against the roving herds of cattle and horses was well-nigh prohibitory. Not till after the drought of 1862–1864 had ruined many of the stock-ranches did the interest of the farmer become dominant in the legislature. Then the free range was curtailed and finally abolished, and the law required that pastures be fenced. The alternation of wet and dry seasons was an unknown and appalling phenomenon to the Easterners. The winter rains flooded the bottom lands and saturated the ground until it would not bear a man's weight, while in the spring months, when Missouri farmers were accustomed to plough and plant, the downpour ceased, the adobe soils were soon baked by the sun, and the time of germination was past. Irrigation, the resort of the mission fathers, seemed to the novices a costly way of making good nature's deficiencies. Not one acre in a thousand of the ploughed lands was artificially provided with water before 1870. Even more preposterous at the then cost of labor seemed the building of dikes to keep

the spring floods from overflowing the river bottoms, although they contained the richest soil. Devastating floods were even more frequent than droughts [55] and wrought greater damage, sweeping away houses and fences and submerging thousands of acres of arable soil. The building of levees along the Sacramento and its tributaries and their extension and maintenance became a definite annual charge which amounted to $1, $2, and $3 per acre. Elsewhere the silt deposits were not by any means so deep or rich as in the alluvial valleys of Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa; the soil was thin, and the accretion of vegetable mould was slow because of the scant herbage and dry atmosphere.

Some of the most fertile lands in the foot-hills had been ruined for tillage by the miners. In their search for gold, they had respected no claims but their own. According to the mining code any land that was suspected of containing "pay dirt" was open to the prospector, and the surface loam was relentlessly scraped off and buried under the sand and gravel of the river beds. In 1855 the legislature took the farmers' interests so far into account as to enact that buildings, vineyards, orchards, and growing crops might not be interfered with; but the wanton destruction of the arable lands did not cease, and many fair valleys were rendered forever useless by "diggings" that returned but a meagre profit to their temporary occupants. Hydraulic was even more injurious to agriculture than placer mining. Hundreds of thousands of cubic feet of débris and "slickings" were carried down-stream, filling up the

Miners at Work with Pan and Long Tom, 1849.

Hydraulic Mining.

beds of hitherto navigable rivers and covering thousands of acres of fertile land. The ruin wrought for the future was incalculable, but so long as the mining interests dominated the legislature, nothing could be done by way of prevention.[56] These circumstances, taken in connection with the high cost of labor, served to discourage tillage in California during the first twenty years of the American occupation.[57]

Corn, the staple crop of the Mississippi Valley, did not do well in the semiarid climate of California, but wheat, oats, and barley had long been cultivated on the Coast, where the prevailing fogs furnished sufficient moisture. Sutter and Bidwell and other farmers in the Sacramento Valley proved that the interior could produce heavy crops wherever a rainfall of twelve to sixteen inches could be relied on.[58] The wheat land was ploughed in the autumn as soon as the November rains had softened the parched earth, the seed was sown in January or February, and the grain harvested in June and July. Pests were abundant. Ground squirrels and gophers gnawed the roots, while grasshoppers, the curse of new countries, sometimes destroyed an entire crop. In the spring of 1855, after a dry winter had deprived them of their usual sustenance, the grasshoppers descended from the hills to feed upon the growing grain, and ate off in a night the season's planting. A dry spring with north winds might blast the tender shoots, and in the southern counties the grain seldom came to perfection for this reason. Here and elsewhere, when there was prospect of a dry season, wheat and oats and barley as well were cut in the milk and stacked to be used

instead of hay for horses and cattle. Experience went to show that, in the north, the rainfall might be inadequate to the development of the kernels for one year in three, and that a killing drought was due every thirteenth year.[59]

Notwithstanding the risks of drought, American farmers were soon converted to the advantages of a dry season for the harvesting of grain. Ruin from rust and mildew was unheard of, and there was no danger of untimely rain. Once cut and bound, the sheaves might lie in the field for weeks unharmed, and the threshing be deferred until autumn, if desired. The hundred-fold return of the early days could no longer be anticipated, but the average yield of twenty to thirty bushels was still far in excess of that in the wheat belt east of the Rockies. Thirty bushels was an ordinary yield for oats and sixty for barley, and good volunteer crops were not unusual. Ploughing was a less difficult matter than in theMissouri bottoms where the breaking up of prairie sod, subsoil ploughing, and harrowing for removal of stones and roots, were necessary preliminaries to the sowing of a crop, and where, because the fields were small and uneven, gang-ploughs were impracticable.[60]

During the Civil War, the Eastern yield declined, and there was a brisk demand for California wheat both at home and abroad. The cattle ranches were brought under the plough and planted to grain, notably in the neighborhood of San Francisco, where droughts were never disastrous and where the costs of transportation were light. Ocean steamers that had hitherto made the return trip in ballast now put into

San Pablo Bay and were loaded with grain and flour at Vallejo. So dry were the flint kernels that wheat might be hauled direct from the field, turned into the hold and shipped round the globe to Liverpool, without risk from must or mould or fermentation. The heavy rainfall of 1859–1861 produced wheat crops that far outran domestic consumption, prices fell to $1.25 per cental, and one million bushels of grain were sent to the English market. The drought of 1864–1865 withered the growing crop and brought the price up to $5.25 per cental. Exportation ceased, there was a rapid fluctuation of prices, and men speculated in wheat as madly as they had speculated in mining stock. The extension of the area planted to wheat, the introduction of machinery, and a more thoroughgoing tillage put the business on a substantial foundation, and in 1867 the export rose to 750,000 bushels. This (1865–1870) was the golden age for the wheat farmer. The Australian crops were short in these same years, and the world's demand for bread was met from the vast interior valley of California. Yet the Nemesis of prodigality was at hand. No land can be cropped for years without rest, rotation, or fertilization, and hold its own. The gang-plough was usually run but four inches deep, and so failed to reach the resources of nutriment and moisture latent in the earth. The shallow soil, unwatered and unrenewed, began to show signs of depletion. The acre yield fell from thirty bushels to twenty, and from twenty to fifteen.[61] In 1871, a dry year, the crop averaged only nine bushels to the acre, and many of the wheat farmers were ruined.

American ranchmen were following the line of least resistance, as their Spanish predecessors had done, and contented themselves with selling raw material and buying finished products, with this difference, that the staple export was now grain, not hides and tallow. A wheat ranch was hardly more profitable than a cattle ranch and even more extravagant, since the wheat ships carried away each year a considerable portion of the nitrogen, silica, and phosphorus with which the soil had been endowed. No attempt at rotation of crops was made; for alfalfa, clover, and leguminous plants required irrigation, and this was too costly for general adoption. In the early seventies the era of irrigation by private capital opened. The revival began in the San Gabriel Valley, where the agricultural achievements of the *padres* were in evidence and where several colonies of Eastern farmers had settled and begun to experiment with various fruits and vegetables. In the neighborhood of Los Angeles and San José, the old mission and *pueblo* ditches were maintained, with some extensions and additions. On the ranches of the interior, mining ditches were utilized for agriculture. The most striking development of irrigation was in the San Joaquin district, where rainfall was less than in the northern valley and the soil more sandy, while the long, cloudless summers were suited to the ripening of tropic fruits. The San Joaquin and King's River Canal and Irrigation Company inaugurated (1872) a system that was to water fifteen thousand acres and proposed an extension that would bring the total area covered to 325,000 acres. The King's River

Irrigation Company built a ditch that could provide for 300,000 acres, while the Chapman, Miller, and Lux Canal had a capacity to irrigate fifty thousand acres of the former cattle ranch.[62] Water was furnished to farmers under the canals at stated intervals and in quantities adapted to the several crops and seasons. The usual water rate was $1.50 or $2 per acre, an annual charge that was fully offset by the incidental advantages of irrigation. It soon became evident that the flooding of a field fertilized the land, while destroying insect pests, gophers, etc.

With an untaxed soil, uninterrupted sunshine, and water furnished at convenient intervals, the experienced American farmers could accomplish marvels. The growing season was double that of the Eastern states, and the size and sweetness of cabbages, squashes, melons, etc., increased in proportion. Sugar-beets bore fifteen tons to the acre with eight per cent saccharine, so that the yield of sugar was twenty-four hundred pounds to the acre. Fruit trees grew more rapidly and bore earlier than east of the Rockies, and the fruit was large and abundant. The flavor of apples, peaches, and cherries was inferior, but the pears and apricots and plums of California were unequalled. A few orange orchards that were planted at Sonoma, Sacramento, and Martinez bore excellent fruit, but the cost of irrigation and the skill and labor required in the care of the trees discouraged production on a large scale. The infrequent orange growers of the south did little more than keep up the Spanish orchards, but they reaped a fair profit on fruit shipped to the San Francisco market. The conditions for grape

culture were ideal. The light, sandy nature of many soils, the freedom from rains or destructive storms during the months between the budding and ripening of the fruit, the absence of phylloxera or other pests, rendered a vineyard an almost certain success. The French cultivators in the neighborhood of Los Angeles and the German colony at Anaheim sent two million pounds of grapes to San Francisco in the season of 1853–1854, where they sold at from fifty cents to $7 a pound.[63]

All the possibilities of soil and climate were not yet known, and many experiments were made at heavy cost, the speculative spirit instilled by the chances of mining days finding expression in the agricultural opening. Sericulture was attempted by certain enthusiasts, who expected to rival Japan and Italy in the production of raw silk and eventually of the finished product. The legislature was induced (1867) to offer premiums for mulberry plantations ($250 for 1000 trees) and for cocoons ($300 for 100,000), and by 1870 the output amounted to twelve million cocoons; but more attention had been given to quantity than to quality, and the product was not marketable. It is said that if all the claims for struggling mulberry trees and low-grade cocoons had been paid, the state treasury would have been bankrupt. Cotton growing was also undertaken and carried to a measure of success at Fresno in the San Joaquin. The seed was brought from Sonora, and the experience of Mexican planters was utilized. The yield was from two hundred and fifty to five hundred pounds per acre, — not a heavy crop, but at the war price of twenty

cents a pound there was considerable profit in the enterprise, since the cost of ploughing, planting, picking, ginning, and baling did not exceed $30 per acre. The necessity for irrigation limited the available area, however, and the laborers for weeding and picking were not to be had. The premiums offered by the legislature (1865) had no lasting effect.

The honey-bee—not native to California—was introduced in 1853, and for a time the prosperity of the small landholder was thought to be assured by the possession of a dozen hives. The long, open summers enabled the bees to store honey during ten months of the year, as compared with six in the Eastern states, and hibernation was reduced to two months. Abundant food was furnished by the fruit trees, grape-vines, clover blossoms, and wild flowers, while in arid sections the sage-brush afforded material for honey of the most delicate flavor. Two hundred pounds was not an extraordinary yield for a single swarm. In 1870 there were thirty thousand hives scattered through the state. But the market for this delicacy was a small one, and many of the producers found they had a glut on their hands. For a time it was believed that castor-beans pointed the way to speedy wealth, and plantations were set and oil mills erected, but all in vain. The plants flourished, but the market was too limited for the maintenance of a paying price. The craze for tobacco growing was equally disastrous. The climate of California was too dry for the proper maturing of the leaf.[64]

The menace of *latifundia* was passing away. With more intensive cultivation, the size of farm holdings

decreased. The ideal of the stockman was the eleven-league grant of the Mexican era, but the great wheat ranches did not contain more than ten thousand acres of tillable land. Proprietors of large estates, finding that they could not get labor with which to cultivate to advantage, were glad to sell off considerable tracts at thirty-seven to seventy-five cents per acre. Taking into account the burden of taxes and the insecurity of titles, land was expensive even at this figure. Irrigation still farther reduced farm acreage. The water companies preferred to rent water to independent cultivators, even when the land under their canals was originally their own, and it was soon evident that a man could do better with fruit or vegetables on ten or twenty acres than with a larger tract. In 1870 one-half the farms in Los Angeles County were between three and fifty acres in size, and with the extension of the irrigated area, the general average declined. After the best lands in the San Francisco basin had been brought under cultivation, the reclamation of the *tule* land about the Bay and along the lower levels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers became a project of importance. It was estimated that three million acres of rich swamp land, in the heart of the state and readily accessible to navigation, might be recovered by a system of earth embankments at a cost of $5 to $20 per acre. The legislature of 1874 empowered the several districts concerned to issue bonds for the purpose of reclaiming the *tule* lands, and some one hundred thousand acres were drained within the next few years.

Manufactures

The promising beginnings in sawmills, grist-mills, and tanneries made by the American pioneers at Santa Cruz, Yerba Buena, and Bodega were swept into oblivion by the gold excitement. All supplies for the mines and for the tributary towns were imported. Beef and flour came from Honolulu and Sydney, salt was forwarded as ballast from Boston and Liverpool, wine from Bordeaux, *articles de luxe* from China. Even after the gold bubble had burst and men began to look about them for more normal employment, manufactures developed slowly because of certain physical handicaps. Fuel was to be had only at prohibitory prices. Wood was scarce and very costly, and there were no coal mines nearer than Puget Sound. Water-power was abundant in the Sierras, but the Coast Range furnished none that could well be utilized, and the modern methods of transmitting power by electric current were not yet dreamed of. The forests of pine and redwood offered excellent building material, but there were no hard woods such as must be used in the making of wagons, implements, casks, etc. In the first decade of the American occupation, moreover, neither capital nor labor was available on such terms as to encourage manufacturing enterprises. The legal rate of interest was still high, and wages were prohibitive.

The new citizens of California might have been no less content than were the Mexican *rancheros* to remain a raw material producing country, but that their wants were more diversified, numerous, and im-

perative. The machinery needed for quartz mining was too bulky to be sent round the Horn from Liverpool or New York, except at a cost that jeopardized success, while the risks involved in the transport of powder and explosives, matches, nitric and sulphuric acids, imposed an extravagant rate of insurance. Moreover, the stamp-mills, amalgamators, and roasting furnaces suited to gold mining were not made for the coal mines of Pennsylvania or the Black Country, and Californians of determination and energy set about the manufacture of engines and machinery adapted to local needs. Coal was shipped from Australia and from the newly discovered deposits in the Cascades; the wheat ships brought back pig-iron in ballast at cost of $35 to $100 per ton, even scrap iron was utilized; foundries were erected in San Francisco and in Sacramento, and the industrial miracle was accomplished. Stamp batteries and portable engines of California manufacture were on sale in 1855, and wire rope in 1857. By 1860 there were sixteen foundries and machine shops at San Francisco, and mining machinery was being exported to Nevada, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Bolivia.[65] The smelting works built to refine the silver ore sent down from the Comstock Lode were at that time the largest in the United States and received ore from Utah and Arizona as well as from Nevada. Giant powder was imported from Boston and cost $5 a keg, until powder works were established at Santa Cruz (1863). All the raw materials were at hand. Sulphur had been found at Clear Lake, was being mined at the rate of four tons a day, and could be delivered on the coast

for three and four cents a pound,—less than the price of the Sicilian import. Nitrate of soda was brought from Chili and Peru, while charcoal kilns were opened in the Coast Range, where the scrub-oaks and willows were converted into fuel. By 1870 nine-tenths of the explosives used in California were manufactured at home, and a considerable quantity was exported to Mexico and South America. Nitric and sulphuric acids were supplied to the smelters by 1853, and the candles used for lighting the mines—imported until 1867—were thereafter furnished by home industry. No sooner was lead produced in the silver mines of Inyo County than shot towers and type foundries were started. Hemp was imported from Manila, and ropewalks were opened at San Francisco (1856) that competed successfully with the Atlantic Coast producers.

These triumphs encouraged other ventures. The lumber needed for the building of houses, flumes, and sluices had been imported at great cost. For example, five million feet of lumber was shipped to California in 1849 from Bangor, Maine. There was plenty of pine and fir in the foot-hills, however, and water-power was usually within easy reach. Soon every mining town had its sawmill, where Yankee ingenuity introduced labor-saving devices such as levers, chutes, donkey engines, and the circular saw with adjustable teeth. With the increased output, the price fell from $500 to $16 per thousand feet. Adobe construction did not recommend itself to the Americans, and nine-tenths of the new houses in northern California were built of wood. Brick for the more

pretentious business houses was made at Santa Cruz, and some was sent round the Horn. Stone houses were very rare, for no good material had been found within transportable distance, and the little stone used had been imported from China, the Sandwich Islands, and the Atlantic Coast. The cheapest building material was redwood, and the magnificent forests of the Coast Range were felled remorselessly, sawed into planks and boards, and shipped to the towns to be wrought into flimsy houses that were as rapidly swept away by the frequent conflagrations. In the early years the casings for doors and windows and all inside finishings were imported; but later, planing mills were erected, and there was no need to purchase abroad. As the farm area was extended and lumber was required for fences and plank roads, the California supply of redwood fell short, and pine was sent down the coast from Oregon. The first attempt at reforestation was made in 1869, when the Australian gum (eucalyptus) was planted in the Castro Valley. The experiment was highly successful, for a seven-year growth yielded $90 per acre in fuel and telegraph poles. This graceful tree was well adapted to California conditions, for, though sensitive to frosts, it thrives in dry and alkali soils.

The crowded traffic of the mining days created a demand for small river and coasting schooners. The need was first met by the shipyards of Benicia, where many unseaworthy ocean vessels were made over into river craft, and fishing sloops were built for the cod banks of the Alaskan coast.[66] The first sea-going steamer was built in 1864. The need for

HARVESTING WHEAT IN THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY.
Combined harvester and thresher.

stages and ore wagons was met in the same enterprising fashion by the wagon factories at San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville. Enormous freighters, weighing four thousand pounds and capable of carrying fifteen thousand pounds, and stages fit to stand the strain of rough mountain roads were soon on the market. To meet the demand of the wheat ranches, agricultural implements were manufactured, and machinery such as the multiple gang-plough and the combined reaper and thresher was invented to deal with the vast wheat fields in wholesale fashion. The conversion of wheat into flour on a scale commensurate with the new market early engaged the attention of California entrepreneurs, and steam-power was introduced in the mills at Sacramento, Colusa, and Chico. The best-grade flour was ground at Vallejo and exported to Australia, Chili, and England.

Beef was salted for the mining camps in 1852, and the market was supplied by domestic producers after 1860. Meat packing and the manufacture of soap depended on the cattle industry. After the losses of 1867, the price of hides, tallow, and beef rose, and California manufacturers had difficulty in competing with their rivals in the East. Salt sufficient for home consumption as well as for the packing houses and fish-flakes was provided by 1865. Along the tidal reaches of the Bay, solar evaporation was relied on. At Santa Barbara and Los Angeles boiling vats were used. At Kern Lake and in other arid sections remote from the sea, the brine was pumped from subterranean wells. Borax, discovered

in the salt flats east of the Sierras, was much in demand among the meat packers and brought about twenty times the price of salt, so that the transportation charges were easily covered. The long sea voyage injured the quality of Eastern beers so that the California brew was superior. Hops were grown and breweries built to meet a rapidly expanding demand. A boot and shoe factory was opened in 1863 and, by dint of low-priced leather and the employment of cheap Chinese and convict labor, furnished the coarser grades at low prices, while a few coöperative shops inaugurated by skilled artisans did a thriving business in the higher grades. By 1866 one-fourth the shoes used in the state were of Californian manufacture. Heavy gloves, harness, belting, hose, etc., were also produced.

The revival of woollen manufacture was another happy result of the war period. Bounties on textiles were offered in 1862, $1000 for the first thousand pieces of sheetings, drillings, or cloth. A factory that had been built in San Francisco in 1858 reaped the advantage of this legislation. The best of the wool clip was kept at home, labor-saving machinery was introduced, Chinese laborers were secured at $1.12 a day, and the industry was soon on a solid basis. The Mission Mills, owned by Donald McLennan, made the best blankets in the United States, while other mills furnished the woollen shirtings with which the miners were clothed. The only serious competition was from Oregon, where water-power and a cleaner wool gave the producer distinct advantages. A cotton factory put up in Oakland was less success-

ful, for the raw material—and that of inferior quality —had to be imported from Mexico. The factory was eventually converted to cotton bagging.

Experiments in the making of sugar from melons, beets, and sorghum had been inaugurated in the early fifties, but without much success. Low-grade cane sugar was being produced in the Sandwich Islands as well as in China, Java, and the Philippines. Three refineries were put up in San Francisco in 1865–1866, with a capacity of thirty million pounds. Since the price of raw sugar was thirteen cents per pound and that of refined eighteen cents, the profits were considerable. Before the close of the decade, however, this promising industry was jeopardized by excessive and unregulated production and by the importation of cheap sugars from the Eastern states and from Germany. Claus Spreckels weathered the storm, and his Bay Sugar Refining Company became the largest in the United States.

This extraordinary development of manufactures was of artificial nature. The peculiar isolation of California, intensified by the Civil War which temporarily checked the inflow of Eastern manufactures, and the War Tariff which excluded foreign goods; the buoyant and adventurous character of the California entrepreneur; the anti-foreign movement which drove Chinamen, Mexicans, and all miners of Latin stock to the towns; the bounties offered by the state legislature; — these conditions had induced a hothouse development that could hardly be permanent. With the close of the war, Eastern and European producers began to flood the market with goods

that they were willing to sell below cost in order to regain the lost ground. All attempts to compete in the better grades of leather goods and woollen and cotton cloth were futile. The completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869 put an end to the isolation of the market. Henceforth California's manufactures were of necessity confined to such articles as were too bulky for transportation by rail or for which the raw materials were produced at home or by one or another of her Pacific neighbors.

Section VIII

The Labor Supply

During the first twenty-five years of the American occupation there was a chronic scarcity of labor in California. In matter of fact, there were no *bona fide* wage-earners in the country. Since the discovery of gold, none such had migrated to the Pacific Coast. Moneyless immigrants there were in plenty, American, English, Irish, German; but they had come, practically without exception, not to seek employment, but to make a fortune on their own account in the gold fields, in the gambling-houses, or in the various business enterprises made profitable by the extravagance of the mining communities. They were ready to undertake hard labor and to undergo desperate privations wherever there was any chance of sudden wealth; but for prosaic, humdrum toil, even at assured wages, they had no mind. Few miners accepted employment unless they were "down on their luck," and then only temporarily. During the rainy

season, the great mass of the unsuccessful crowded into the cities, notably San Francisco, and, having nothing laid by, were forced to hire out in order to get through the winter. The majority were unskilled and unaccustomed to steady work. Physically broken, intemperate, cherishing a grievance against any man more prosperous than themselves, they constituted a restless, unreliable, and even dangerous body of laborers. William Shaw describes the conditions in San Francisco in the autumn of 1849: "The winter having set in, thousands were returning sick and impoverished from the mines; the arrival of so many laborers soon affected the rate of wages, and the points [Millers Point] were daily crowded with men unable to get work. As this influx of labor caused a great diminution of wages, the price of provisions remaining the same, discontent and indignation prevailed amongst the lower orders, and nightly meetings took place, attended by crowds of the rabble ripe for pillage and riot, but luckily without leaders. Had an O'Connell arisen from amongst them, order might have been subverted and terms dictated by the mob to the storekeepers and householders; as it was, these meetings ended in furious tirades, forbidding foreigners to seek employment or people to hire them; accusing the foreigners of being the cause of a fall in wages, and holding out a deadly threat to all who dared labour under the fixed rate of payment — ten dollars a day."[67] Millers Point, the labor market of those years, was terrorized by these malcontents. Employers dared not openly offer nor men accept wages lower than those proclaimed

by the mob of unemployed. "Numbers of respectable working-men, who would willingly have worked for a reasonable sum, were almost destitute for want of employment, nigh starving."[68] Violence was not only threatened but actually brought to bear. Employers were beaten and men were killed, and the authorities dared not interfere. An English shipmaster whose crew had deserted, applied to the *alcalde* for aid in recovering the men. He was told that a seaman's contract made under a monarchy was not binding in free California, and there was no redress. Every spring this vagabond horde drifted back to the diggings, leaving a shortage of labor where there had been a glut. The irregularity in the labor supply was accentuated by a no less marked irregularity in the demand, for most of the employments were seasonal, dependent on the rainfall or on unforeseeable local conditions. When a steamer came into port, there was imperative need of draymen and dock laborers; even the Kanakas, the poorest of hands, could get $1 per hour; but the emergency passed with the discharge of the cargo, and for months there was nothing to be done on the docks. When the building craze struck a town, carpenters and brick-layers could command almost any wage; but the boom might last only a few months, and then laborers were forced to seek employment elsewhere. The earnings of the rush seasons must cover long periods of unemployment.

As the placer diggings were exhausted, the broken-down miners hired out to the mining companies, and their wages declined to a living minimum of $3 per

day (1870). The Mexicans and Chilians, driven from the mines by the anti-foreign agitation, found refuge in the towns and were glad to accept wage service. After 1849 there was an unsteady, but none the less evident, fall in wages. San Francisco carpenters, the best paid of skilled laborers, were getting $16 in 1849, $10 in 1851, $7 in 1853, $5 in 1856, and $4 in 1870. The wages of day-laborers fell from $4 in 1849 to $1.75 in 1870, for white men, while in the latter year Chinamen got from eighty cents to $1.25 per day.

Chinese immigration had received little attention in the flush days of the early fifties. The Chinese were but one, and that not the most *bizarre*, of the elements contributed by the countries bordering on the Pacific. Kanakas, South Sea Islanders, Malays, and Hindoos were equally alien to European ideas of what was seemly and intelligible. The other Orientals came and went, making no permanent impression on industrial conditions in California; but the Celestials remained. Five hundred had arrived in 1850, twenty-four thousand in 1851, twenty thousand in 1852, but the number dropped to forty-seven hundred in 1853, and three thousand in 1854, and continued to decline for the fifteen years following. Chinese first appeared in the gold fields, where they worked together in large companies under effective leadership, but using tools so like to children's toys that they excited the ridicule of the sturdy wielders of pan and rocker. The little yellow men were gentle and timid, readily yielding place to the arrogant Americans. They ultimately confined their

operations to the placers abandoned by the others, but such was their patience and industry that, even so, they contrived to get a fair return. Soon they found more remunerative employment in restaurants and laundries; they diked the *tule* lands, converted them into prolific market gardens, and supplied vegetables to the scurvy-haunted mining camps. In the early days the Chinese were regarded as a picturesque and highly desirable addition to the working force of California, greatly superior to the Mexicans and Chilenos and "Sydney ducks," since they were honest, industrious, and law-abiding; but no sooner were the Latin races driven from the mines than economic jealousy and race prejudice vented their wrath upon the Celestials. Against this noncombative people, the foreign miners' license was enforced with special rigor,—the greedy collectors demanding payment several times a month. The burden of this tax, coupled with numerous outrages perpetrated upon them, drove the Chinamen from the gold fields and deprived the employers of sorely needed laborers. A vigorous protest from this interest impelled the legislature to reduce the tax to $3 per month (1852), but in response to the demands of the American and Irish miners it was raised to $4 in 1853 and to $6 in 1855. The unwise provision that the fee was to be automatically increased by $2 each year thereafter, brought about the repeal of this law and restored the $4 rate. The tax was collected from the Chinese miners and from them alone until 1870, when the Federal courts declared it unconstitutional. During the twenty years in which a

foreign miners' tax was collected, the revenue derived amounted to $5,000,000, of which it is estimated that the Chinese, who had no votes and could not testify in the courts, who rarely made use of schools, hospitals, almshouses, or asylums, paid ninety-five per cent. Without this contribution, amounting to half the total taxes levied in the state, an adequate police force and relief of the destitute could hardly have been maintained in California.[69]

Driven from the mines, the Celestials found employment in the towns, — in restaurants, laundries, and private houses. Nine thousand were drafted to Nevada to build the Central Pacific Railway, three thousand went into the shoe factories, cigar shops, and ready-made clothing trade. The Burlingame Treaty (1868) made the coolie trade a penal offence, but provided for reciprocal privileges, — voluntary immigration, exemption from persecution on religious grounds, freedom of residence and travel, right of attendance on schools and colleges, etc. The primary purpose of the treaty, from our standpoint, was to secure to American merchants freedom of entry to a promising market; but the immediate effect was to increase the volume of Chinese immigration to California. In the three years between 1868 and 1871 there were twenty-two thousand arrivals, and systematic agitation against Chinese cheap labor was inaugurated.

PART V

FREE LAND AND FREE LABOR

CHAPTER I

THE CURSE OF SLAVERY

To the planters of Louisiana and Texas, slave labor seemed essential to the cultivation of sugar and cotton. The torrid suns and heavy malarial soils of the Gulf Coast discouraged white laborers, and recourse to negroes was regarded as inevitable. Slaves in plenty were being brought down the Mississippi River from Kentucky and Tennessee or driven in gangs across the mountains from the Carolinas. It was a traffic highly profitable to both sections, since slaves were multiplying beyond the needs of the exhausted lands of the Atlantic states, and the surplus would have been an embarrassment but for the market developing in the Southwest. So brisk was the demand for Northern negroes to make good the loss of life in the unhealthy sections and to supply new plantations, that the price of prime field hands rose from $500 in 1840 to $1000 in 1850 and $2000 in 1860. The temptation to import these valuable commodities was irresistible, and negroes were smuggled in from the West Indies and the Gold Coast in defiance of Federal legislation. During the years in which Iowa, Oregon, Utah and California were being peopled by Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Scandinavians, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and even Missouri were supplied with laborers of African blood. The census of 1850 showed that more than

half the population of Louisiana was made up of slaves and free blacks. The proportion for Texas was twenty-seven per cent, that for Arkansas twenty-two per cent, while in Missouri, the northernmost slave state, the colored population was thirteen per cent of the total. Slaves were numerous in the bottom lands along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, but they were little employed in the barren uplands of western Louisiana and Arkansas and northern Missouri.

Frederick Law Olmsted, who made his saddle trip through Texas in 1854, was impressed by this contrast as he watched a gang of twenty-two negroes embarking at New Orleans for some plantation on the lower river, while alongside lay a steamer filled with emigrants and their luggage, bound for the upper Mississippi. "Louisiana or Texas, thought I, pays Virginia twenty odd thousand dollars for that lot of bone and muscle. Virginia's interest in continuing the business may be imagined, — but where is the advantage of it to Louisiana, and especially to Texas? Yonder is a steamboat load of the same material — bone and muscle which, at the same sort of valuation, is worth two hundred and odd thousand dollars; and off it goes past Texas, through Louisiana — far away yet, up the river, and Wisconsin or Iowa will get it, two hundred thousand dollars' worth, to say nothing of the thalers and silver groschen in those strong chests, — all for nothing."[1] The disparity did not end with the original cost. It was evident also in the output of free as compared with slave labor. "In ten years' time, how many mills, and bridges, and

schoolhouses, and miles of railroad will the Germans have built?" and what a market for products of the rest of the Union will they not have developed? Meantime the negroes will have produced several thousand dollars' worth of sugar or cotton which will be shipped north in exchange for supplies without adding anything to the permanent wealth of their new home.

The heavy expenditure for slaves kept the planters continually in debt, so that there were few of them in Louisiana or Mississippi who were not seriously embarrassed. A succession of two or three bad years spelled ruin to all but a fortunate ten per cent. Olmsted thought that the Louisiana sugar planter was at an inevitable disadvantage as compared with his Cuban competitor, since he had to grow the cane under a severer climate. Frost might occur in any one of the winter months, and the lands under the levee were cold and damp, the yield of saccharine was never so heavy, and the "seed" had to be planted every third year. In Cuba the yield was from three thousand to six thousand pounds of sugar per acre, while in Louisiana the average yield was only one thousand pounds. The cost of production, moreover, was double that on a Cuban plantation. Olmsted concluded that the sugar planters of Louisiana were kept going by the two peculiar institutions of slavery and a protective tariff. "I must confess that there seems to me room for grave doubt if the capital, labour, and especially the human life, which have been and which continue to be spent in converting the swamps of Louisiana into sugar planta-

tions, and in defending them against the annual assaults of the river, and the fever and the cholera, could not have been better employed somewhere else." [2] Only the great plantations paid a profit on the investment. The expense of installing a sugar-mill might amount to $100,000, steam pumps for drainage would cost $50,000 more, and the first cost and maintenance of two hundred slaves meant $400,000.[3] Such a lay-out could not be justified except where a large supply of cane was available. The small planters were selling out to the large-scale producers so generally that two hundred estates, or one-eighth the total number, were already manufacturing one-half the sugar exported.

The cotton fields of Louisiana were producing one and a half (400 lb.) bales to the acre, or from eight to ten bales per hand, where the soil was fresh, but the land was soon exhausted, and no effort was made to renew its fertility.[4] The erosion of the hillsides was destroying thousands of acres every year. "If these slopes were thrown into permanent terraces, with turfed or stone-faced escarpments, the fertility of the soil might be preserved, even with constant tillage. In this way the hills would continue for ages to produce annual crops at greater value than those which are at present obtained from them at such destructive expense, from ten to twenty crops of cotton rendering them absolute deserts. But with negroes at fourteen hundred dollars a head, and fresh lands in Texas at half a dollar an acre, nothing of this sort can be thought of." [5]

The cost of maintaining a force of slaves was less

Picking Cotton.

Ploughing for Cotton.
Under the slave régime.

than for the same number of free men. The cabins provided for the slaves were mere log enclosures "without windows, covered by slabs of hewn wood four feet long. The great chinks are stopped with whatever comes to hand — a wad of cotton here, and a corn-shuck there." [6] The rations were coarse and not always abundant, a peck of corn and four pounds of pork a week for each person, with a treat of molasses and tobacco at Christmas. This with the necessary clothing and blankets meant an annual expenditure of $25 per head. (It was usual to allow every family a plot of ground on which to grow vegetables and chickens.) The heavy expenditures were represented in the purchase price of the slaves, — an expense which the unwholesome climate and exhausting labor renewed with alarming frequency, — and the cost of superintendence. Every gang of workers must have a "driver," usually a negro, and every plantation must have at least one overseer. The salary paid an overseer varied from $200 to $2000 according to his reputation for results, — reckoned in the number of bales of cotton or pounds of sugar per acre or per hand. Pressure was thus brought upon the overseer to exploit the land, the draft animals, and the labor force, regardless of the permanent interests of the plantation. "Overseers are not interested in raising children, or meat, in improving land, or improving productive qualities of seed, or animals. Many of them do not care whether the property has depreciated or improved, so they have made a crop [of cotton] to boast of." [7] Few of the landowners of southern Louisiana lived upon their

estates, and the overseers were left to manage or mismanage the property as suited their purposes.

In journeying to Texas, Olmsted followed the great emigrant road from Natchitoches. It could hardly be called a road, being merely an indistinct trail through the pine barrens, along which every rider and driver chose his own path. Emigrant trains were frequently overtaken, — three or four wagon-loads of furniture and farm implements, a light cart or two for the white women and children, and a drove of slaves. "The negroes, mud-encrusted, wrapped in old blankets or gummy bags, suffering from cold, plod on, aimless, hopeless, thoughtless, more indifferent, apparently, than the oxen, to all about them."[8] Their goal was the fat bottom lands of the Trinity and Guadalupe rivers, where cotton still bore three bales to the acre. Much of the land along the Sabine had already been exhausted and was growing up to "old-field pines." The New England observer thought that in eastern Texas a larger area had been abandoned than remained under cultivation, and the empty cabins and wrecks of plantations gave the country a desolate air. All the more enterprising people had moved on to fresh lands farther west, and estates were selling at less than the cost of improvements. Even the cattle ranges were exhausted — the cane and blue-joint grass having been eaten off — and the great herds were being driven to the uplands north and west of the San Antonio Road. For the care of cattle, the negroes had no aptitude, and the herders were usually of Spanish origin.

The cotton planters of Texas were almost all poor, even in the fertile districts where the yield was from seven to ten bales per hand. With cotton selling at twenty cents a pound, the income was considerable; but the outgo was heavy. The bulk of the money went for supplies of food and clothing, for fresh slaves and cattle, and there was little left for luxuries. Most of the planters were living in one-room cabins with mud chimneys. The better sort of dwellings consisted of two log-cabins connected by a roofed-over platform, with at most a gallery or piazza running along the front. Even an old settler had been able to do no better for his family than the one-room cabin. "The room was fourteen feet square, with battens of split boards tacked on between the broader openings of the logs. Above, it was open to the rafters, and in many places the sky could be seen between the shingles of the roof. A rough board box, three feet square, with a shelf in it, contained the crockery ware of the establishment; another similar box held the store of meal, coffee, sugar, and salt: . . . A canopy bed filled one quarter of the room; a cradle, four chairs seated with untanned deerhide, a table, a skillet or bake-kettle, a coffee kettle, a frying pan, and a rifle laid across two wooden pegs on the chimney, with a string of patches, powder horn, pouch, and hunting knife, completed the furniture of the house."[9] The state of the outhouses and garden (wherever a garden was attempted) indicated a hopeless shiftlessness, and it was difficult to find at any of these plantations suitable accommo-

dation for man or horse. There was a general lack of flour, sugar, butter, wheat bread, or beef. The only fresh meat was furnished by the universal hog. The explanation of this general lack of comfort was to be found in the complete divorce between intelligence and labor. Olmsted quotes the comment of a woman who had been brought up at the North: "The only reason the people didn't have any comfort here was, that they wouldn't *take any trouble* to get anything. Anything that their negroes could make, they would eat; but they would take no pains to instruct them, or to get anything that didn't grow on the plantation. A neighbor of hers owned fifty cows . . . but very rarely had any milk and scarcely ever any butter, simply because his people were too lazy to milk or churn, and he wouldn't take the trouble to make them." [10]

Two Ohio men who went up the Missouri in 1854 concluded that shiftlessness was the leading characteristic of life in a slave-holding region. "We were informed by a Missourian, — a citizen of a town of four thousand inhabitants, — that if a carriage axle was bent or broken, it could not be repaired in the place; and we were elsewhere informed, that, throughout the beautiful farming region of the Upper Missouri, so far from manufacturing farming implements, not even a plough could be properly repaired." [11]

The fundamental difficulty with slave labor was that slaves took no interest in their work. The conditions imposed upon them offered no incentive to put forth energy, mental or physical. Every

task was performed under compulsion, and the lash of the driver was a necessary accompaniment of all labor. Farther, the slave had no concern for his master's property. Animals were abused, tools lost or broken, seed wasted. Intensive cultivation, rotation of crops, conservation of the soil, were all impossible under a régime that offered no reward for fidelity and ingenuity. Depletion of the land was, by consequence, rapid and universal. Even the black loam of the river bottoms was sapped of its fertility. Southerners of the more intelligent type recognized the fatal defects of slave labor and would have been glad to be rid of its risks and responsibilities; but emancipation seemed to involve worse evils. All observers agree that the condition of the freed blacks was, in general, inferior to that of the slaves; for these were sure of food and clothing, at least, and were guarded against liquor and vagabondage. The various attempts to emancipate and transport the negroes had come to little, and yet some provision must be made for the increase of the African population. In the minds of the leading Southern statesmen, there was but one solution of the dilemma, new territory to which slave owners might migrate with their working force. The progressive exhaustion of the old soils must be made good in fresh lands suited to the slave economy. Directly west, nature had raised a physical barrier in the "staked plains" of Texas and the arid wastes of the upper Arkansas, but to the north lay the Great Plains, a region that was just coming to public notice as having an agricultural future.

CHAPTER II

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

All explorers of the Great Plains, the vast moorland stretching from the one-hundredth parallel to the Rocky Mountains and from the Arkansas River to the British boundary, had expressed the conviction that the region was unsuited to settlement. Pike and Brackenridge, Long and Gregg, were convinced that — treeless except along the watercourses, with inadequate rainfall and unpromising soil — the Plains were not adapted to agriculture. As late as 1856 Colonel Emory stated in an address to the Association for the Advancement of Science: "Except on the borders of the streams which traverse these plains in their course to the valley of the Mississippi, scarcely anything exists deserving the name of vegetation. The soil is composed of disintegrated rocks covered by a loam an inch or two in thickness, which is composed of the *exuviæ* of animals and decayed vegetable matter. The growth on them is principally a short but nutritious grass, called buffalo grass. A narrow strip of alluvial soil, supporting a coarse grass and a few cottonwood trees, marks the line of the watercourses; which of themselves are sufficiently few and far between. Whatever may be said to the contrary, these plains west of the one hundredth meridian are wholly unsusceptible

of sustaining even a pastoral population until you reach sufficiently far south to encounter the rains from the tropics." He thought most people had been misled by "estimating the soil alone, which is generally good, without giving due weight to the infrequency of rains, or the absence of the necessary humidity in the atmosphere to produce a profitable vegetation." For a century to come, the scientists were assured, civilized man would cling to the alluvial lands of the Mississippi and Missouri valley, relinquishing the prairies to the nomad Indian tribes, to whom, because of the abundance of game, they were a terrestrial paradise. In pursuance of this theory, the government had located here the reservations of the Delawares, Wyandottes, and other tribes removed from east of the Mississippi. It was a tenantless land crossed by the caravans of the Santa Fé traders and by emigrant wagons bound to Utah, Oregon, or California. The pioneers thought of the Plains much as European emigrants thought of the Atlantic, as an unfortunate barrier between the old home and the new which must be traversed at serious cost in time and hardship. The only exception, so far as the overlanders knew, was the valley of the Kansas River, where the rich growth of grass and flowers gave some indication of future productivity.

The attention of Congress was first called to the latent possibilities of Nebraska Territory by Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, who hoped to develop the region in the interests of a northerly route for the much-discussed railway to the Pacific. In 1844, in 1848, and again in 1852, he introduced

bills proposing territorial organization. The last measure incorporated Dr. Whitman's suggestion that military stations be planted along the overland trail where food might be raised and sold at prices that would render the posts self-supporting. Soldiers were to be provided by the enlistment of such volunteers as might be attracted by a land bounty of six hundred and forty acres, awarded for a three years' term of service. The proposition to open this territory to settlers aroused unwonted interest, not because of the known resources of the country involved, but because the question of the extension of slavery was reopened.

The Missouri Compromise had fixed upon 36° 30′ as the boundary between slave and free territory, but the admission of California as a free state seemed to abrogate this agreement. The provision that New Mexico and Utah were open to slave labor was but a barren victory for the South, since these arid lands were not suited to wholesale cultivation. Under existing conditions it was inevitable that free states would be created so rapidly as soon to overthrow the balance of power in the Federal government on which the continued existence of slavery was held to depend. There was but one resource for the determined supporters of slavery, — the opening of new slave territory north of the Missouri Compromise line. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, introduced into the House of Representatives in 1854 by Stephen A. Douglas, now chairman of the Committee on Territories, declared this compromise unconstitutional and therefore "inoperative

and void" and announced the new principle of non-intervention. The people of a territory, and they alone, were competent to determine what labor system should prevail among them. Congress could do no more than organize such territories "with or without slavery as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." In spite of the energetic opposition of the Free Soil party and of such Democrats as Thomas H. Benton, who held that the Missouri Compromise was a pact that could not honorably be broken, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was carried through both houses and received the signature of President Pierce on May 30, 1854. Thus was it determined that the momentous question whether slave or free labor was to dominate the West was to be tried out on the ground, and that victory would rest with the section that could furnish the most successful colonizers. The Territory of Kansas was delimited at the fortieth parallel and opened for settlement, the Indian tribes being removed.[1]

Popular Sovereignty

The free state men accepted the challenge. Eli Thayer, a member of the Massachusetts General Court, brought forward a plan that gave new hope to the baffled opponents of slavery. The rich lands of Kansas must be colonized with men from the North, — men who could be counted on to cast their votes, when the test came, against the extension of the hated institution. On April 26, 1854, more than a month before the signing of the Kansas-

Nebraska Act, he induced the legislature of Massachusetts to incorporate the Emigrant Aid Company, and readily secured the aid of Amos A. Lawrence and other business men of Boston in getting together a capital of $140,000. His Plan of Freedom was entirely pacific and offered a means of circumventing the slave power without any violation of the law or the Constitution, — without menace to the Union. It enlisted the cordial support of the best men in New England and the North. Edward Everett Hale, Horace Bushnell, Theodore Parker, the Beechers, and thousands of lesser clergymen lent their pulpits and their voices to the propaganda. Edward Everett Hale was one of the first and ablest of Thayer's assistants. He had written a pamphlet in 1845 (apropos of the Joint Resolution for the annexation of Texas), proposing to colonize Texas with men from the free states; but his appeal fell on deaf ears. The odds were then too heavily against the antislavery men. The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Springfield Republican*, and hundreds of local papers throughout the free states printed vigorous editorials in behalf of "the Kansas Crusade" and eagerly reported the course of events. Eli Thayer threw himself into the campaign heart and soul, addressing audiences that crowded the churches and lyceum halls from the Penobscot to the Schuylkill. Farther west, Cincinnati and Oberlin furnished men who carried the propaganda throughout the Old Northwest. An emigrant aid company was organized in New York City, another

at Albany, and another in Washington, and Kansas leagues were formed in hundreds of smaller towns. Young men from the hill towns of New England, from the exhausted farms of New York and Pennsylvania, from the malaria-haunted prairies of Illinois, enlisted for the free-soil crusade, actuated by the desire to better their own condition as well as to contribute their share toward checking the spread of slavery.

The advantages of emigration on a large scale were soon evident. On the understanding that twenty thousand people would move to Kansas within three years, the new railways that were competing with the Ohio steamers for the Mississippi River traffic offered reduced rates, and a fare of $37 from Boston to Kansas City was arranged. A receiving station was opened at St. Louis, a hotel was purchased at Kansas City, and agents were despatched to the several points of transfer to guard the emigrants against extortion and fraud. Town sites were chosen and desirable lands designated by men familiar with the territory, machinery was purchased and forwarded at the cost of the Company, — a sawmill being set to work at every point where a colony was projected, — gristmills and printing-presses followed, and $2000 was contributed to the financing of the first newspaper, the *Herald of Freedom*.[2]

Charles Robinson, a "forty-niner" who had led the squatters' rising in Sacramento, was the very effective agent in the field. Charles H. Branscomb took charge of the emigrant parties, while Samuel C. Pomeroy served as financial agent at Kansas City.

The first group of twenty-nine men left Boston, July 17, 1854, going by rail to Buffalo. Their journey was a triumphal progress. At every station they were met by crowds who cheered the advance-guard of the army of freedom, and the local press chronicled their movements day by day. At Buffalo, they transferred to the steamer *Plymouth Rock* and crossed Lake Erie to Detroit. Thence the railroad carried them to Chicago and to Alton, where they boarded river boats for Kansas City. There Branscomb took the party in charge and led them up the Kaw River to the site of Lawrence. A second party of sixty-six men followed in August, and five companies with seven hundred and fifty emigrants went in the course of the year. Each party doubled and trebled its numbers *en route*, and many went out quite independently of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The books of the Boston office showed during the course of the first three years of its operation three thousand names of prospective emigrants,— intelligent and resolute men for the most part, ready to die if need be for the sake of the principle on which they had risked their personal fortunes. Most of these men could write and write effectively, and their letters home, eagerly awaited and read at the village post-offices, at church meetings and lyceums, or printed in the columns of the anti-slavery press, fired the enthusiasm of thousands more. After 1856 there was no more need for the emigrant aid societies. The colonists organized on their own account and moved on Kansas by thousands; for it was coming to be understood that the once despised

Plains comprised some of the best farming country in the West.

Boynton and Mason, the commissioners sent out by the Kansas League of Cincinnati in the autumn of 1854 to inspect this latest "new land of promise," thought the soil of eastern Kansas as fertile as that of Missouri and the rainfall of thirty inches quite adequate for agriculture. The arid plains of the central section were covered with buffalo grass, the best of pasturage, and the rivers that traversed the district from west to east afforded a sufficient water supply. Here was an admirable cattle country, while the mountainous region bordering on the Rockies would furnish water-power only comparable to that of New England. Forest growth on the uplands was kept down by prairie fires, which must cease to be dangerous as the land was brought under cultivation; but along the streams there was abundant timber for immediate need. A treeless country had its advantages, since the cost of clearing land was slight, and the plough met no obstacles in turning over the sod. Building material for all time was provided in the underlying strata of lime and sandstone, while the outcropping ledges of coal promised fuel for the future. The osage orange furnished an admirable hedging plant which formed a hog-proof barrier in three years' growth. For house-building, a temporary expedient that gave warm shelter was prairie sod or sun-dried brick such as the Mormons were using. "In three years after locating upon the open prairie, a man may have his farm surrounded and divided by hedges; his dwelling adorned with

shrubbery, and young shade trees — several kinds of fruit trees and grapevines in bearing — and if he pleases, a young forest, already capable of supplying him with some small timber." [3]

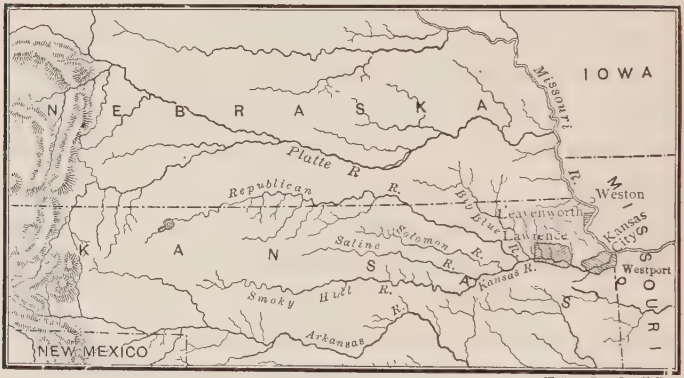
The cost of taking up land under the pre-emption law was moderate — $1.25 per acre — and the first ploughing could be accomplished, even when men and teams were hired, at charge of $2.25 per acre. The prairie soil might be counted on to produce from fifty to one hundred bushels of corn, forty bushels of oats, twenty bushels of wheat, two hundred bushels of potatoes, or one thousand pounds of hemp per acre. The value of hemp was $120 per ton, and it was already a staple export from northern Missouri. An excellent market for all food-stuffs, as well as for cattle and horses, was provided by the emigrant trains to Oregon and California and the caravans that still went over the Santa Fé Trail. Boynton was convinced that Kansas would never be a slave state. The crops to which by soil and climate its agriculture was adapted — corn, wheat, oats, cattle — were not suited to slave culture, nor was the quarter-section farm consistent with slave economy. Emigration, moreover, follows parallels of latitude, and few Southerners would care to face the severe winters of the Platte Valley. The people who came into Kansas from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri were usually "poor whites" who brought no slaves. Planters did not care to risk so valuable a property in a territory from which slavery might ultimately be debarred.

Kansas was the poor man's opportunity. To take

advantage of the preëmption law, a man must swear that he held no other claim and owned no more than three hundred and twenty acres of land elsewhere. In order to secure his title, he must prove that he had built a house upon his claim and "improved and inhabited" the land for at least one year. Since the lands of the Kaw Valley had not yet been surveyed by the government, settlers would have fully two years in which to accumulate the $200 due the land office. The Emigrant Aid office estimated that a man did not need more than $100 to start with.

In the autumn of 1854, there were several steamers plying on the Missouri between St. Louis and Weston, the then depot for the emigrant and Santa Fé trade. The voyage was still a precarious one and taxed the ingenuity of boat-builders, as is evidenced by Boynton and Mason's description of their steamer. "The boat is provided with heavy spars some fifty feet long, which are set out over the sides, like the legs of giants, and by means of the proper machinery, worked by the capstan, the weight of the boat is partly suspended upon her legs, and she *literally* '*walks* the water like a thing of life.' "[4] The journey to Kansas City, the new post at the mouth of the Kaw River, required three or four days and cost $12 (cabin passage). Freight rates were $1.50 per hundredweight in the fall when the water was low. In the spring, when the Ohio Rivers boat could run up the Missouri, competition brought the rate down to twenty-five cents per hundredweight. Kansas City was a prosperous village of from six hundred to one thousand inhabitants. Lying at the junction

of two navigable rivers, and possessing the rare advantage of a high bluff and a "natural limestone wharf," it had the chance of becoming the com-



THE KANSAS SETTLEMENTS, 1855.

mercial outlet for a great farming region and was already contending with Weston for the emigrant trade. Farther up the Missouri and on the western bank was Leavenworth, a squatter settlement where twelve hundred Missourians had staked their claims in the heart of the Delaware reservation, in defiance of the United States authorities. "There was one steam-engine, naked as when it was born, but at work, sawing out its own clothes. There were four tents all on one street, a barrel of water or whiskey under a tree, and a pot, on a pole over a fire. Under a tree, a type-sticker had his case before him, and was at work on the first number of the new paper, and within a frame, without a board on side or roof, was the editor's desk and sanctum."[5] When the Cincinnati commissioners came down the river a few weeks later, the editor had removed his

office to the "corner of Broadway and the levee." Lawrence was hardly more imposing, being a "city of tents," although its population was made up of six hundred heads of families. Emigrants from New England did not often bring their women and children, fearing to expose them to the hardships of the first winter. All the best land in the Kaw Valley as far as Fort Riley was already preëmpted, since this was regarded as the most favored portion of the territory. The steamers and flatboats that ran up the river as far as the Fort when the water was high afforded the all-important transportation facilities. Here was Topeka with four hundred inhabitants and a town site of two square miles. Two steam sawmills belonging to the New England Emigrant Aid Company were sawing out lumber for the house-builders at $10 per thousand feet. A printing-press was already set up, and the Company's store was selling food-stuffs at less than market prices. The Boston philanthropists were doing for this frontier what Dr. McLoughlin had done for the Oregon emigrants and what the Mormon church was still doing for its protégés. "It strips emigration of its terrors, and renders the settling of a new country a safe, easy and profitable operation, even for the pioneers." [6] The scheme of emigration differed from that undertaken by the Mormon church in that every emigrant paid his way, made his own choice of location, and laid claim to land on his own initiative. He was not even under expressed obligation to use his vote or his influence against slavery.

Meantime the slave interests had not been idle.

Organized emigration had long been customary in the South. For forty years, slave owners had been sending younger sons and superfluous slaves westward — to Georgia, to Mississippi, to Texas — with the full assurance that they could occupy and dominate the new territories. But migration northward, into a region where not cotton and sugar, but corn, wheat, and oats would be the staple crops, was a far more difficult matter. Slave labor might not prove profitable, and free laborers were not to be had for such a venture. The issue was clearly foreseen. The *Charlestown Mercury* announced: "If the South secures Kansas, she will extend slavery into all the territory south of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grande, and this, of course, will secure for her pent up institution of slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will gradually be diminished, the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas, together with the adjacent territories, will gradually become Abolitionized, and the slave population, confined to the states east of the Mississippi, will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment." [7] Certain Southern patriots responded to this plea. Major Buford of Alabama recruited a party of three hundred adventurous young men and paid their expenses for a year's campaign, on the understanding that each volunteer would make over half of his squatter's claim to the financier of the expedition. The Lafayette Emigration Society was set on foot in Missouri on terms somewhat less thrifty.

There was, however, no considerable migration from the slave states except from the region that lay directly east of Kansas. In the frontier communities of northern Missouri, there were plenty of reckless spirits — broken-down trappers, disappointed gold-seekers, seedy veterans of the Mexican War — eager to move across the border and lay claim to any promising land, regardless of Indian reservations or pre-emption rights. In the autumn of 1854 they flooded the Kansas Valley, planting stakes and registering claims wherever a colony of free state men was projected.[8] Speculators and blackmailers joined in this attempt to dispossess the men who had first filed on the land and who, by settling thereon, had given it market value. The policy of Robinson, derived from his California experience, was to induce his men to ignore bullying, to stand by their civil rights and wait for the law to take its course. It took courage to adhere to this programme, since the Missourians were known to be unscrupulous as to the means used, and the Federal government, with Pierce in the presidential chair and Jefferson Davis secretary of war, could not be relied on for abstract justice; but the law-abiding element possessed their souls in patience, for they believed that regard for constituted authority - - as essential to the ordered development of society as is self-control in the individual — must prevail in the end.

By the autumn of 1854 there were eight thousand people in Kansas, fully half of them from the free states. Since the great majority of the Northern immigrants were adult men, it was thought this

element could outvote the pro-slavery faction by five to one.[9] Unable to settle the country as rapidly as the free state men were doing, the proslavery leaders determined to control the elections. Blue lodges and other secret societies were organized for this purpose, under the direction of General D. O. Atchinson, senator from Missouri, and no effort was made to conceal their intention. Bands of "border ruffians" rode across the Missouri line,—daring, lawless men, imbued with the individualistic creed of the frontier. They distributed their force among the several voting districts so as to make sure of swamping the antislavery majority at every point.

At the election of the territorial delegate (November 29, 1854), Whitfield, the proslavery candidate, received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast, but more than half the number (1721) were afterward proven to be illegal. A much more important issue was the choice of the territorial legislature in the spring of 1855, for on its enactments would depend the future of Kansas. Again armed bands rode across the border, each equipped with camping outfit, and when they returned home immediately after the election, they were received with addresses of congratulation by their fellow-townsmen at Franklin and elsewhere, for they had insured a proslavery majority.[10]

When Governor Reeder, who had at first accepted the result of the election, found this assembly unmanageable and repudiated its action, he was removed from office by President Pierce, and Governor Shannon was sent to take his place. So supported, the legislature

proceeded to draw up a constitution for the Territory closely modelled upon that of Missouri, but even more drastic in respect to the opponents of slavery. The death penalty was awarded for the crime of aiding in the escape of a runaway slave, imprisonment at hard labor for writing, speaking, or printing antislavery arguments, and antislavery opinions were declared to be sufficient ground for disfranchisement. The effect of these high-handed proceedings was to rouse intense enthusiasm for the crusade in behalf of freedom throughout the North and to induce the immigration of some fanatic abolitionists. The proslavery zealots, meanwhile, policed the Missouri, inspecting the steamboats, turning back passengers who haled from north of the Ohio River, and confiscating their luggage.

The Wakarusa War

The free state settlers justly regarded the constitution and laws adopted by an assembly illegally elected as void and without effect, and they proceeded to hold a convention at Topeka to draw up a state constitution. This was submitted to the people (December 15, 1855) and carried 1731 to 46. Dr. Robinson, who headed the antislavery ticket, was triumphantly elected governor. Thus there were two governments in Kansas, the territorial and the state, neither of which could claim to be constitutional. The conflict of authority, or rather the lack of all authority, gave opportunity for theft, murder, and arson, and the inevitable recriminations. A belligerent proslavery sheriff, Jones, attempted to arrest an

old man whose only offence was his concern for the body of a murdered friend; but he was rescued by some of the free state men, who protested the sheriff's authority. The Missourians reënforced Jones' posse by seventeen hundred armed troopers and marched on Lawrence determined to make an end of the hated town. Hostilities were averted by the personal intervention of Governor Shannon, who patched up a truce and reluctantly conceded the right of the men of Lawrence to defend themselves; but Robinson and several other antislavery leaders were arrested and kept under guard by the Federal troops.

In the spring of 1856 a Congressional investigation was ordered. The majority report (two Republicans to one Democrat) was to the effect that the territorial legislature was illegally elected, and its acts were therefore void; that the convention which drew up the Topeka constitution represented a majority of the people, but was illegally called.[11] A new election was ordered for the autumn of 1857, and United States troops undertook to maintain peace until the civil authority was established.

All might have gone well but for the Pottawatomie outrages. John Brown and his five sons came to Kansas in the summer and autumn of 1855 and settled at Osawatomie. They were extreme abolitionists and held that slaveholders must be driven from the territory, if not by votes, then by force; but their propaganda was distrusted by Robinson and the Lawrence men, who believed that extra-legal means would be fatal to their cause. Aroused to a pitch of frenzy by the appearance of armed bands of Missouri-

ans and the attack upon Lawrence, Brown led his men into the valley of the Pottawatomie, a proslavery district, and there they dragged five suspects from their beds and killed them without shadow of trial or legal authority. This horror precipitated a campaign of revenge in which both parties participated, and the governor was obliged to resort to martial law. Immigration was checked, and the favorable impression created by Robinson's policy of non-resistance was largely negatived. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a young divine of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was escorting a party of emigrants over the toilsome and costly route through Iowa and Nebraska, met parties of Kansas settlers returning home. "'Will you give up Kansas?' I asked. 'Never,' was the reply from the bronzed and bearded lips, stern and terrible as the weapons that hung to the saddle-bow. 'We are scattered, starved, hunted, half-naked, but we are not conquered yet.'" [12] Douglas, on the other hand, denounced "that vast moneyed corporation," the Emigrant Aid Company, as primarily responsible for the failure of popular sovereignty to settle the slavery question in the territories; but wiser men than he were forced to the conclusion that the peaceful solution of an antagonism so irreconcilable was impossible.

In 1857 immigration again set toward Kansas, the Northern men usually coming by the way of Iowa and Nebraska to avoid the annoyance of passing through St. Louis, Franklin, and Kansas City. Some enterprising antislavery men started the town of Quindaro and announced it as the only landing on the river

where free state immigrants were sure of a welcome. In consequence, all the immigration set that way, and the other landings had to advertise equal hospitality or see their trade languish. When the elections were held in October, 1857, the free state party was confessedly in the majority, twenty to one; but the determined advocates of slavery falsified the returns. The proslavery vote from small villages and sparsely populated townships was so large that the fraud was patent, and the returns were disallowed by Governor Walker, to Pierce's extreme annoyance. But fraud could not make permanent headway against the will of the people, and violence had only the effect of sending larger companies of antislavery colonists across the Missouri. Kansas was ultimately won for free labor, as Oregon and California had been, by the incoming of settlers who had no use for slavery. In 1859 an antislavery constitution was adopted by an uncontestable majority of the voters, and the attempt to create a slave state north of the Missouri Compromise line was abandoned.

Beaten on ground of its own choosing, the slave oligarchy repudiated the theory of popular sovereignty altogether and endeavored to substitute the principle that slave property had equal rights with any other property, and that the Federal government was bound to defend its possessor in any state or territory to which he might transfer it. Meantime the men who were convinced that farther compromises with the slave power would jeopardize the continuance of free institutions had organized the Republican party. The convention held in the summer of 1856

announced that no interference with the institutions of existing states was proposed, but that the extension of slavery to the territories must cease at once and for all time.

In the presidential election of November, 1856, the Republicans cast 1,341,264 votes and carried eleven of the fifteen free states; but Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, secured the majority of the electoral college. However, the tide of popular indignation against the aggressions of slave owners was steadily rising. The Dred Scott decision and the open importation of slaves from Africa, in violation of a pact in the original constitution, added fuel to the flame. In the elections of 1860, Abraham Lincoln, the consistent opponent of Stephen A. Douglas, received a popular vote of 1,866,452, and a clear majority of the electoral college. His election was the signal for the secession of the slave states and the war for the preservation of the Union. The pro-slavery majority in the Senate disappeared with the withdrawal of the Southern members, and Kansas was finally admitted to the Union under the constitution indorsed by its people.

The rapid development of the state under a free labor system was a sufficient justification of the long struggle. Samuel Bowles, who crossed the Plains by stage in 1865, described the country east of Fort Kearney as beautiful prairie, "illimitable stretches of exquisite green surface, rolling like long waves of the sea," with here and there a ranch or a farm with cultivated land. The proprietors were using mowers and reapers "to an extent that would amaze New

England farmers." [13] The great need of Western agriculture was a steam plough which would convert the level, treeless plains into tillable soil with less expenditure of time and labor. Farther west the ranchmen were discussing the practicability of dry farming. "By ploughing during the latter rains of Spring, and sowing during the long, dry Summer rest, the smaller and hardy grains will sprout with the Fall rains, strengthen with the Winter and quickly ripen in the early Spring. Such treatment involves a years fallow, as the harvest would be too late for another ploughing the same Spring." [14]

CHAPTER III

THE VICTORY OF THE NORTH

The settlement of the slavery question aside, the most significant results of the Civil War for the Far West were the chartering of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Homestead Act.

The Railroad to the Pacific

The first suggestion for transcontinental transportation seems to have been that submitted to Congress by Robert Mills in 1819. He proposed that Charleston, South Carolina, be connected with the Pacific Ocean by a system of canals and natural waterways, up the Mississippi and Missouri to the Great Falls, and "thence passing through the plains and across the Rocky Mountains to the navigable waters of the Kooskooskee River, a branch of the Columbia, three hundred and forty miles." The proposed route is evidently based on the *Summary Statement of Distances* compiled by Lewis and Clark.[1] A railway across the Rocky Mountains was one of Hall J. Kelley's dreams, and to him it seemed an entirely simple proposition; but his contemporaries thought it as visionary as a railway to the moon. The project was finally reduced to practicable terms by Asa Whitney, a New York merchant, who addressed a memorial to Congress in 1845, embodying his plan. He proposed to finance the railroad out of land sales

and petitioned for a grant sixty miles wide along the entire route. The settlers who came in to purchase the land would furnish the business on which the company might depend for future revenues. "It is proposed to establish an entirely new system of settlement, on which the hopes of success are based, and upon which all depend. The settler on the line of the road would, so soon as his house or cabin were up and a crop in, find employment to grade the road; the next season, when his crop would have ripened, there would be a market for it at his door, by those in the same situation as himself the season before; if any surplus, he would have the road at low tolls to take it to market; and if he had in the first instance paid for his land, the money would go back, either directly or indirectly, for labor and materials for the work. So that in one year the settler would have his home, with settlement and civilization surrounding, a demand for his labor, a market at his door for his produce, a railroad to communicate with civilization and markets, without having cost one dollar. And the settler who might not have means in money to purchase the land, his labor on the road and a first crop would give him that means, and he, too, would in one year have his home with the same advantages and as equally independent." [2]

By widely distributed lyceum lectures and unceasing newspaper agitation, Whitney created a general demand for transportation to the Pacific, for he diplomatically varied the route according to the prepossessions of the audience he was addressing. His first project was a railroad from Milwaukee on Lake

Michigan through Prairie du Chien to Portland, Oregon; but in deference to Southern interests, he later proposed that the line should run from Memphis on the Mississippi through New Mexico to San Francisco. Sectional feeling was quite evident in the Congressional debates. Southern representatives demanded that the road should connect Charleston with San Diego, while members from the Northern states held that this national boon should not fail to advantage Chicago and St. Louis.

Meantime the discovery of gold in California had rendered some form of transportation a necessity. The prairie schooners of the emigrants soon determined the shortest route to California, and a well-defined trail from Westport Landing to Salt Lake *via* South Pass, and thence by the Humboldt and Truckee rivers to the Sacramento Valley, indicated the line of least resistance. The overland road was described in 1860 as "a great thoroughfare, broad and well-worn as a European turnpike or a Roman military route, and undoubtedly the best and the longest natural highway in the world."[3] Mail-coaches had been running from St. Joseph to Salt Lake since 1850, with the aid of a mail subsidy from the government. In 1859 the stage line was in the hands of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, ex-army contractors, who enjoyed an annual subsidy of $190,000. The heavy Concord coaches ran night and day, six miles an hour, stopping only to change the mule teams at Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, Fort Bridger, and for food and drink at certain "stations" between these points. The Wells Fargo Express Company financed the route

from Salt Lake to San Francisco. The usual schedule time between St. Joseph and San Francisco was three weeks, though it often exceeded this by two or three days. The charge for fare and twenty-five pounds of luggage was $175 to Salt Lake, — thence to San Francisco, $150. A more rapid mail service was furnished by the famous Pony Express, a relay system of mounted mail-carriers, who made the trip from St. Joseph on the Missouri to Placerville, California, in eight days. This was a desperate business for man and horse, but with a letter rate of $5 per sheet, it paid expenses and was maintained from 1852 to 1860.

When gold was discovered in the northern Rockies, Ben Holladay, a Missourian, opened a stage route from Atchison to Denver, across the Wasatch Range to Salt Lake, and thence north to Idaho and Oregon, a line that footed up 2240 miles. At Portland, Holladay's stages were met by steamships which he had purchased to carry mail and passengers from British Columbia to Mexico. It was a vast scheme of transportation without which the mines of the Northwest could hardly have been operated, and the revenue as well as the expenditures ran up to figures regarded as stupendous in those days. The mail contracts alone amounted to $650,000 per annum. The southern overland route from Fort Smith, the head of navigation on the Arkansas, *via* El Paso to San Diego, was well patronized by emigrants from the Gulf States, and this, too, had its stage line (1858) financed by Wells of the Wells Fargo Company.

It was a hazardous business for all concerned.

The risk of capture by Indian bands or by more civilized highwaymen was serious, and the losses in property alone were reckoned by millions. The cost of maintaining the draft animals at the numerous relay posts was heavy, for grain had to be hauled from Missouri or from Salt Lake, and hay and fuel were often packed a hundred miles over the desert. Reckoning also the wages paid to the men and boys employed, to say nothing of the salaried officials, the output mounted to $10,000 and $20,000 a month, and frequently exceeded the revenue. Firm after firm failed, giving way to some larger combination. The Russell, Majors, and Waddell line passed into the hands of Ben Holladay (1862). The Wells Fargo management bought out Holladay (1865) and established a gigantic transportation system reaching from the Missouri to the Pacific and from Sante Fé to the Columbia, — the Overland Mail Company. Samuel Bowles, who made his journey "Across the Continent" in 1865, estimated that the various stage lines employed from nine to ten thousand wagons, sixteen thousand horses and mules, ten thousand men, and fifty thousand cattle.

The overland stage was a boon to the gold-seekers and to the travelling public for a score of years, and it offered opportunity for many a thrifty Mormon or stranded fur trader to accumulate a tidy fortune by furnishing poor food and worse whiskey to the wayfarer; but it was destined to give place to the transcontinental railroad. During the decade 1849 to 1859, surveys were made of the various routes established by fur traders and emigrants, without reach-

ing any final conclusion. Simpson, of the United States Topographical Survey, who had explored the Zuñi route from Fort Smith to the Rio Grande, the Sante Fé route from Fort Leavenworth, and the Salt Lake route along the North Platte, thought the southern project the most practicable. Texas and New Mexico offered no serious obstacles to construction, for the grades were light, and there was little snow even in winter. But other considerations than the difficulties of construction must have weight in the ultimate decision; the openings for settlement and cultivation must be taken into account, if the road was ever to be profitable. In these respects the southern route offered less than the line recently explored by McClellan and by Lieutenant Mullan from the Great Lakes to Puget Sound. Here, too, the Missouri would serve for the transportation of materials and supplies, while the Cascade Range could furnish abundant timber. The central route so eagerly urged by Benton and Fremont was thought impracticable by Simpson, Gunnison, and Beckwith. The grades they believed beyond the skill of railroad engineers, and the snows fell so heavily in the Wasatch Range and the Sierras as to preclude winter travel. Simpson, indeed, thought a railroad through the Cordilleran area impracticable. Two thousand miles of track built at the rate of one hundred miles a year would require twenty years for completion. Meantime, the portion first built would have rotted out twice over. He advocated a Central American canal as the "great political, commercial, financial, physico-scientific, moral and religious problem of the age." [4]

The central route had been explored by Fremont in 1843–1844 and again in 1845–1846, by Stansbury in 1849, by Gunnison in 1853, by Beckwith in 1854, and by Simpson in 1859, and although they differed on many points, all agreed that the South Pass was the most feasible means of surmounting the Rockies. Fremont described the South Pass as a "sandy plain, one hundred and twenty miles long" which "conducts by a gradual and regular ascent, to the summit about seven thousand feet above the sea," so that the traveller, "without being reminded of any change by toilsome ascents, suddenly finds himself on the waters which flow to the Pacific Ocean." [5] The crossing of the Wasatch Range and the Sierras, he acknowledged to be the really serious problem.

While engineers were discussing grades and construction materials, and politicians were endeavoring to reconcile sectional interests, the miners and ranchmen from Kansas to California were clamoring for improved means of transportation. A Pacific railroad, as Bowles put it, was "the hunger, the prayer, the hope" of all the settlers west of the Missouri. Both the Democratic and the Republican platforms of 1860 declared that a transcontinental railway was "imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country," but not till the secession of the slave states left the representatives of the North in control of Congress, was the central route determined on, with Omaha as the point of departure. The Congressional sanction was hailed with enthusiasm all along the emigrant trail. The merchants of St. Louis and the farmers of Kansas and Nebraska were

the first to feel the advantages of the new transportation system; but the Mormons in Utah were no less convinced of its beneficence. Brigham Young took out contracts in behalf of the church for building the line through Mormon country, and many a fortune was made in the furnishing of timber and supplies, while the Saints contributed no small quota of the labor employed. The business men of San Francisco subscribed $1,000,000 of stock and immediately set about building the Central Pacific Railroad over the Sierras and across the Great American Desert to the Great Salt Lake, — quite the most difficult portion of the route. The city of the Golden Gate subscribed $400,000 of stock, Sacramento $300,000, and Placer County $250,000, while the state of California put in $5,500,000 of seven per cent bonds. Labor was provided by the importation of Chinamen under wage contracts at much lower rates than would have brought in white workmen.

The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railways met at Ogden on May 10, 1869, and the link between the two oceans was complete. The great undertaking could not have been achieved by private capital alone. The construction costs exceeded all calculations, and the Federal government was obliged to come to the aid of this national enterprise. The second mortgage bonds of the Company to the amount of $65,000,000 were guaranteed by the United States, the Federal treasury being made responsible for the payments on interest and principal. An even more serious draft upon the country's future resources was conceded in the land grant. Alternate

sections of public land, within a tract twenty miles in width, were assigned along the right of way as construction proceeded, a grant which amounted in the end to 23,500,000 acres, an area equal to that of Indiana. In so doing, Congress handed over to this vast transportation system effectual control of the destinies of the region which it served. The ultimate results of this hostage to monopoly could not then be foreseen.

The Homestead Act

The pioneers from Kentucky and Tennessee were entirely familiar with the "cabin right." Virginia and the Carolinas had offered lands beyond the Appalachians at a mere nominal charge to settlers who could show a house built and corn planted at the end of a year from the date of occupation. Senator Benton, the ardent champion of the frontier, was heartily in favor of this generous policy. When he first came to Missouri, and "saw land exposed to sale to the highest bidder, and lead mines and salt mines reserved from sale, and rented out for the profit of the Federal treasury [he] felt repugnance to the whole system, and determined to make war upon it whenever [he] should have the power." [6] Unfortunately, the eloquent senator from Missouri lost his seat just as the question of the free distribution of the public lands became a live issue in the Senate. Daniel Webster, the Whig leader, was equally in favor of making over the public domain to the people. In January 22, 1850, shortly before his final withdrawal from the Senate, he introduced a resolution in behalf of the quarter-section grant.

It was in the House, however, where the Northern and Western states had a working majority, that the free soil agitation was fully felt. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee introduced a homestead bill in 1845. Its objects were defined by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* as "the securing to every man, as nearly as may be, a chance to work for and earn a living; secondly, the discouragement of land monopoly and speculation, and the creation of a universally landholding People." In 1850 a second bill was brought before the House, this time with the indorsement of the Committee on Agriculture. It was eloquently defended by Brown of Mississippi, a Democrat, who urged that "a fixed and permanent home should be placed within the reach of every citizen, however humble his condition in life." [7] There was much talk of the patriotism of the simple, sturdy old farmers, and the interests of "the honest, hard-fisted, warm-hearted, toiling millions," neglected in the zeal of some legislators to please the rich and great. Other Democrats and Southerners followed in the same vein. The public domain, purchased by the blood and treasure of the whole people, belonged to the people by right and should be placed at the disposition of any man who would settle thereon, without charge. The national inheritance must be rescued "from the grasp of jobbers and pirates" who were speculating on the necessities of the poor.

On the other hand, the proposal was denounced as demagogism by Morse of Louisiana, as "one of the grossest schemes for corrupting the people that had ever been devised." The public property was being

given away "for the purpose of making voters."[8] Hubbard of Alabama argued that the minimum rate of $1.25 per acre already guaranteed to actual settlers by the Preëmption Act was not excessive, and that a more reasonable reform would be the classification of the agricultural land still available and the graduation of the price according to real productivity. The flat charge of $1.25 per acre for the whole area, whether the "richest bottom lands or the poorest wire-grass pine barrens," was the real injustice. The protest of Eastern representatives that land sales constituted the principal source of revenue for the Federal government was answered by the assertion that the revenue was unnecessary and that the burden was unequally distributed. Johnson of Arkansas insisted that "the people of the new states have contributed more, in proportion to their population, to the support of this Government than any other people in the United States. * * * When a man comes to settle among us, he is compelled to pay his money into the Treasury in order to get a spot on which to live; and the money which is thus paid by the settlers is carried out of the state and expended elsewhere."[9]

Until 1854 the homestead policy was not regarded as a party issue. It was indorsed by Whigs such as Lewis Cass of Michigan and by Democrats such as McMullen of Virginia. Nor could it be called a sectional question, though it awakened the liveliest interest in the West and among the men who were looking forward to settlement of the public lands. But as it became apparent that the most desirable portions of

the unclaimed lands lay north of the Missouri Compromise line, sectional jealousies were awakened. When the Homestead Bill reached the Senate in March of 1854, it was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and even when reported back with the recommendation to pass, action was deferred from week to week, until Gwin of California charged the opposition with using adroit and underhand tactics to defeat a measure which they dared not fight in the open. Then Johnson of Arkansas, now sitting in the Senate, spoke his mind. He had become convinced that the policy was "tinctured so strongly with abolitionism" that no Southerner could vote for it. To pass a homestead act before the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had become law would be to offer a premium to all the rest of the world to settle that country excepting only slave owners. The bill finally passed the Senate by a vote of thirty-six to eleven, but with amendments so obnoxious to the temper of the House that that body refused to concur. Once again, in June of 1860, the two houses agreed upon a homestead bill providing that any citizen of the United States, or foreigner intending to become such, might take up a quarter section of unappropriated public land, settle thereon, and when he could prove residence of five years' duration, acquire absolute title. The Senate's contention that a cash payment of twenty-five cents an acre be required, was accepted by the House after serious protest; but even so, the opposition of the slave interests was so strong that President Buchanan felt justified in vetoing the bill.

The Republican party was fully committed to the principle of free land and free labor, and its victory in the presidential election of 1860 indicated that the majority of the people had adopted these foundation principles of liberty. When the slave states had withdrawn their representatives from the Federal legislature, the Homestead Bill passed both houses without opposition and, receiving the signature of President Lincoln, became law, May 20, 1862. No acreage charge was made, and any foreigner might file upon public land after declaring his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States. Homestead entries proved immensely popular, attracting settlers not only from the states east of the Mississippi River, but from European lands. Quarter-section farms to the amount of 27,000,000 acres were claimed between 1867 and 1874, and 168,000 farmers' families, American, German, and Scandinavian, settled in the Far West. The revenue from sales dwindled, but the government soon realized an offsetting advantage in the enhancement of the general wealth and in the higher standard of citizenship. The long struggle between forced and free labor, between land monopoly and the self-employed landowner, had ended in the triumph of the ideal American type—the homestead farmer.

NOTES

VOLUME II

Part III

Chapter I

[1] *Account of Louisiana*, 15.

[2] The cultivation of sugar had been abandoned as unprofitable shortly after the Spanish occupation, but it was revived in 1796 by Etienne Boré, a planter of New Orleans, who succeeded in getting from his boilers a well-granulated grade.

[3] *Account of Louisiana*, 8.

[4] *Account of Louisiana*, 9.

[5] The French word *prairie* is defined as "land without forest growth."

[6] In 1819 Opelousa sent 12,000 head of cattle to New Orleans, where they sold for $35 a head.

[7] Sibley, Letter, 3, 6–7.

[8] Sibley set out in March, 1803, and sent in his report April 5, 1806. It is accompanied by Dunbar's report of the Washita expedition which was carried through in the autumn of 1804. *Am. State Papers*, Indian Affairs, I, 721–743.

[9] Sibley, Letter of August 15, 1803.

[10] *An Account of the Red River in Louisiana*, drawn from the report of Messrs. Freeman and Custis to the War Office, exists in pamphlet form in the Bancroft Collection. Dr. James in *Long's Expedition*, IV, 66–70, gives an account of this adventure, evidently based on Freeman's report. The full report of this expedition seems never to have been printed.

[11] An exhaustive census taken in 1806 for the Territory of Orleans returned a total population of 52,998; 26,069 whites, 23,574 slaves and 3355 free blacks. Of the white population, 13,500 were creoles, — French for the most part, and but 3500 Americans. The remainder were Spaniards, Irish, English, and Germans. By the census of 1810, the population of New Orleans was 17,242, that of the Territory of Orleans 76,556.

[12] Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 300.

[13] Nuttall, *Journal*, 313.

[14] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 309.

[15] Nuttall, *Journal*, 309.

[16] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 326.

[17] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 348.

[18] Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, 358.

[19] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 329.

Chapter II

[1] All travellers of this period refer to the devastation wrought by the earthquake of 1811. In 1815 Congress made an appropriation for the sufferers at New Madrid.

[2] Nuttall, *Journal*, 78.

[3] Nuttall, *Journal*, 77.

[4] Lead that sold for 7 cents a pound at Herculaneum brought 18 cents here, not more than two hundred miles down the river. Salt was $5 per bushel, sugar 31 cents a pound, flour $11 a barrel, pork $6, and beef $5 per cwt.

[5] Most of these grants were invalidated by the act of 1847–1848 on the score of indefiniteness.

[6] Nuttall, *Journal*, 207.

[7] Nuttall, *Journal*, 218.

[8] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines of Missouri*, 249–251.

[9] Thwaites, *Lewis and Clark*, I, 24.

[10] Bradbury, *Travels into the Interior of North America*,

[11] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 36–37.

[12] Brackenridge, *Journal*, 48.

[13] Long's *Expedition*, I, 146.

[14] Long's *Expedition*, IV, 33.

[15] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 223.

[16] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 237.

[17] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 201–202.

[18] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 249.

[19] Flint, *Letters from America*, 129–130.

[20] Flagg, *The Far West*, 208, 229.

[21] Flagg, *The Far West*, 208–210.

[22] There were sixteen grist-mills and eight sawmills in Washington County, in 1819. — Schoolcraft.

[23] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 232.

[24] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 65.

[25] The possible yield Schoolcraft ascertained to be 82 per cent.

[26] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 138–139.

[27] The navigation of the St. Francis was interrupted by a raft at St. Michael, but this removed, it would be navigable five hundred miles to the Mississippi and might furnish a direct outlet from the lead mines.

[28] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 41.

[29] Flint *Last Ten Years*, 105.

[30] According to Schoolcraft, "The boards and planks are taken in rafts from Olean [on the upper Alleghany] to the mouth of the Ohio, and from thence carried in keel boats and barges to St. Louis, where they are worth sixty dollars per thousand feet." — *Lead Mines*, 226.

[31] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 103.

[32] The down-stream traffic was in pig and bar lead, shot of all sizes, whiskey, flour, wheat, corn, hemp, flax, tow cloth, horses, beef, pork, dried venison, deerskins, furs and peltries, butter, pecans. There was a marked increase in the principal articles for the prosperous period following the War.

Productions	1815	1816	1817
Bacon and hams, cwt. . .	7000	13,000	18,000
Butter, lbs.	——	500	1,800
Cotton, bales	60,000	65,000	65,000
Corn, bushels	120,000	130,000	140,000
Flour, barrels	75,000	98,000	190,000
Molasses, gallons	500,000	800,000	1,000,000
Pork, barrels	8,000	9,700	22,000
Sugar, hhds.	5,000	7,300	28,000
Taffia, gallons	150,000	300,000	400,000
Tobacco, hhds.	5,000	7,300	28,000
Wheat, bushels	——	——	95,000
Whiskey, gallons	150,000	230,000	250,000

— Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 265.

[33] Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 265.

[34] A "sawyer is a large tree which has tumbled into the river above, and got fastened by its roots in the bottom, with its top pointed downwards, and just appearing above the level of the water, or it may terminate a foot or two below, so that its locality can only be told by an experienced hand by the ripple created in the water. This tree is continually forced downward by the current, which is still not strong enough to tear it out, and suffers it occasionally to recoil, so that a regular rotary motion is kept up, which is performed once in ten or fifteen minutes; and if a boat be passing over it at the time it has overcome the pressure of the current and is recoiling to its original position, the destruction of the boat is inevi-

table. The power of this engine of destruction is that of elasticity, which is here brought into operation by the pressure of water against a column of live wood eighty or ninety feet in length, the bottom being fastened, and the column inclined at an angle of about eighty degrees, leaving the top at liberty to play like a whip-stalk. When the tree does not reach within two or three feet of the surface of the water, they are called *sleeping sawyers*, and these are the most dangerous, for they cannot be seen. It was on one of these that the steamboat *Franklin* struck, and sunk, a few miles below St. Genevieve.

"'*Planters* are trees in a similar situation, but firmly set, and having no motion. *Snags* are small trees, or limbs of large trees, sticking up in the river, and may either be fixed or have motion.'"—Schoolcraft, *Lead Mines*, 223–224.

[35] Flagg, *The Far West*, I, 113.

[36] Flagg, *The Far West*, I, 84.

[37] Flint, *Last Ten Years*, 105.

[38] Flagg, *Far West*, I, 145.

[39] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 21.

[40] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 692.

[41] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 102–103.

[42] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 147–148.

[43] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 8–9.

Chapter III

[1] Fowler, *Journal*, 151.

[2] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 236.

[3] J. J. Warner, *Reminiscences of Early California*, Ms. in Bancroft Collection.

[4] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 147.

[5] Josiah Gregg was engaged in the Santa Fé trade, from 1829–1839.

[6] Pattie, *Narrative*, 145, 150, 156, 160.

Chapter IV

[1] The boundary between Louisiana and New Spain was defined as follows: along the Sabine River to the thirty-second parallel, north on the ninety-fourth meridian to Red River, along this stream, to the one hundredth meridian, from this point due north to the Arkansas River, then following the south bank of the Arkansas to the forty-second parallel, and thence directly west to the South Sea.

[2] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 619.

[3] The Mexican grant was set at one hundred and fifty miles square. Austin was intrusted with the government of his colony, and the people were to enjoy immunity from import duties for a term of six years. In consideration of his services as *empressario*, he was later accorded additional grants north of San Antonio.

[4] These are the more generous terms accorded in the modification of the general law adopted by the state of Coahuila and Texas in 1825.

[5] Rockwell, *Spanish and Mexican Law*, 624.

[6] The decree of 1829 proposed compensation to slave owners, but the Texans believed, with reason, that the money would not be available for many years and might never be paid, and they cited in justification of their own labor system that Mexican landowners employed *peons* who, under the pretext of debtor contracts, were virtually slaves. The master might recover his *peons* by force if they attempted escape and beat them if they were unruly, while the wages paid (from one to three reals a day) gave them no better subsistence than was generally provided for negro slaves. Some of the American slave owners returned to their homes in Louisiana and Arkansas. Others evaded the law by apprenticing their negroes for a term of ninety-nine years.

[7] Parton, *Aaron Burr*, II, 319.

[8] Kennedy, *Texas*, 117–118.

Part IV

Chapter I

[1] Lumber is now selling at from $50 to $90 per 1000 feet, "and such is the market that no considerable *reductions* of these prices can ever be reasonably expected."

[2] "I have been familiar with these mountains, for three years, and have crossed them often, and at various points, between the latitude 42 and 54. I have, therefore, the means to know something about them, and a right to oppose my knowledge to the suppositions of strangers. I say, then, that nothing is more easily passed than these mountains. Wagons and carriages may cross them in a state of nature without difficulty, and with little delay in the day's journey." Pilcher's Report, 1830.

[3] This battle, July 18, 1832, is graphically described by Irving in *Captain Bonneville*, Chap. VI.

[4] Smith, Ball, and Tibbetts secured employment with the Hudson's Bay Company.

[5] Wyeth, *Correspondence and Journals*, 178.

[6] Wyeth based his claim to be the originator of the first American settlement in Oregon on his five years of strenuous endeavor and the $20,000 spent in fitting out his two expeditions by land and by sea; also

on the fact that three of the first party and nineteen of the second remained in the territory and took up land. "When I arrived on the lower Columbia in the autumn of 1832 there were no Americans there nor any one having an American feeling. So far as I know there had not been since Mr. Astor retired from the coast."

[7] McLoughlin, *Narrative.*

[8] Kelley states as his reason for choosing this circuitous route his desire to negotiate arrangements for trade in lumber and fish between the Mexican ports and the Columbia River.

[9] Wyeth, *Correspondence and Journals.*

[10] According to Kelley, a copy of the *Manual* had been handed to Dr. McLoughlin by Captain Dominis of the ship *Owyhee*, Boston, 1829.

[11] Young believed that this was a charge trumped up to cover the unwarranted confiscation of his stock of furs worth $20,000. C. M. Walker, his biographer, describes him as "a candid and scrupulously honest man, thorough-going, brave and daring."

[12] Quoted in Kelley, *Narrative of Events and Difficulties*, 50.

[13] Franchère, *Narrative*, 341.

[14] Wyeth, *Correspondence and Journals*, 192.

[15] Two died under the pernicious atmosphere of the white man's civilization, but two set out for the mountains in the following spring. They furnished Catlin subjects for a famous picture.

[16] Daniel Lee, in his *Ten Years in Oregon* (110), states that "a high-wrought account of the visit of these Indians to St. Louis, by some writer in the vicinity, was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York City, in March, 1833."

[17] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 122.

[18] "Along the river we found about a dozen families, mostly French Canadians, who had been hunters in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, or free trappers, and had very lately left that employment and begun to farm, that themselves and families might have a surer support and greater security than they could while following the hazardous life of hunters."—Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 125.

[19] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 125.

[20] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 127.

[21] An intermittent fever peculiarly deadly among the Indians broke out in 1829 and spread like a pestilence up the rivers to the remoter villages. According to Kelley, the disease was bred by the "excessive filth and slovenly habits of the English settlement at Vancouver," but that Dr. McLoughlin had wickedly told the Indians it had been scattered on the water by Captain Dominis of the American brig, *Owyhee*. It has been more sanely attributed to the degraded habits and degenerate physique of the natives, and to the turning up of the new soil at Van-

couver and at French Prairie. Wyeth described the situation at Wappatoo Island in 1834. "A mortality has carried off to a man the inhabitants and there is nothing to attest that they ever existed except their decaying houses, their graves, and their unburied bones of which there are heaps. So you see, as the righteous people of New England say, Providence has made room for me and without doing them more injury than I should if I had made room for myself, viz. (by) killing them off." — Wyeth, *Correspondence and Journals*, 149.

[22] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 131.

[23] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 311.

[24] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 150.

[25] Lee and Frost, *Oregon*, 129.

[26] White, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 92.

[27] *American Historical Review*, XIV, 79.

[28] "Among the curiosities of this establishment were the fore wheels, axle tree and thills of a one-horse waggon, said to have been run by the American missionaries from the State of Connecticut through the mountains thus far toward the mouth of the Columbia. It was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains. But fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the Continent, a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered by which vehicles of the kind may be drawn through to Walla walla."

Editor's Note. When Joseph Meek came through in 1840, he secured the remains of this historic wagon and transported his family therein to Dr. Whitman's station at Walla Walla. — Farnham, *Travels*, I, 322.

[29] Mrs. Whitman, *Journal*, 54.

[30] Mrs. Whitman, *Journal*, 65.

[31] Mrs. Whitman, *Journal*, 149.

[32] The first *engagé* to make the request was Etienne Lucier (1829).

[33] Trade prices were estimated at 80 per cent advance.

[34] On his first return Wyeth addressed a letter to Lewis Cass, then Secretary of War (Dec. 9, 1833), stating, "There are west of the Mts. Many gentlemen and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who have Indian wives and families and who are desirous of retiring from active life, but they cannot well mingle in society as it is constituted in Great Britain or the United States and enquiring on what terms they might take up land and whether they could be guaranteed at least the value of improvements, in case the American government ever came into possession of this country."

[35] Farnham, *Travels*, I, 287.

[36] Farnham, *Travels*, II, 17.

[37] Hastings, *Oregon and California*, 22.

[38] *American Historical Review*, XIV, 80.

[39] Mrs. Whitman, *Journal*, 148.

[40] Whitman's Letter from the Shawnee Mission, May 27, 1843.

[41] Fremont, *First Expedition*, 133.

[42] Burnet, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, 142.

[43] Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1886, 24.

[44] McLoughlin, *Narrative*, 203.

[45] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 13.

[46] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 13.

[47] In 1825, Dr. McLoughlin was officially informed that the British claim would not be urged for the region south of the Columbia.

[48] The Americans rallied 52 votes in favor and the Canadians 50 against.

[49] One of the mischances that rendered difficult the endeavor of this much-perplexed man to hold to a consistent course was the arrival, a few days after this oath was taken, of an English man-of-war sent by a dilatory ministry to assure British subjects of adequate protection!

[50] Linn's bill was suggested by Jason Lee. It was supported by petitions from citizens of Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and from the legislature of Missouri. The bill passed the Senate but failed in the House.

[51] Palmer, *Journal*, 159. Cf 165.

[52] The state resold this property to McLoughlin's heirs for $1000 in 1862.

[53] The McLoughlin Document, 55.

Chapter II

[1] The actual encampment was moved to Kanesville, Iowa, in 1848, and to Florence, Nebraska, in 1854. Keokuk, Iowa, and Independence, Missouri, were occasionally used for large parties

[2] The prescribed outfit for a family of five was one wagon, three yokes of cattle, two cows, two steers, three sheep, one thousand pounds of flour, twenty pounds of sugar, a tent and bedding, seeds, farming tools, and a rifle, an equipment adequate for a long journey.

[3] William Clayton, *Historical Record*, IX, 58.

[4] Careful restrictions were imposed on the use of the scant forests, *e.g.* none fit for building purposes was to be used as fuel.

[5] So Woodruff, quoted by Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 396.

[6] Stansbury, *Expedition to the Great Salt Lake*, 142.

[7] Kelley, *Excursion to California*, 229.

[8] Each immigrant signed a contract agreeing that "on our arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley, we will hold ourselves, our time and our labor, subject to the appropriation of the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, until the full cost of our emigration is paid, with interest if required."

[9] Cf. Report of the Parliamentary Commission. Also Charles Dickens, *The Commercial Traveler*, *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1862.

[10] Bancroft, *Utah*, 420.

[11] Brigham Young's order of January 14, 1847. Tullidge, *Salt Lake City*, 638.

[12] Orson Pratt, quoted by Linn, 403.

[13] Letter to Orson Pratt, October 14, 1849.

[14] Quoted by Tullidge, *Salt Lake City*.

[15] Stansbury states (*Expedition to Great Salt Lake*, 130–131) that strict justice was meted out to Saint and Gentile — that Mormon courts were frequently appealed to by Californian emigrants who had quarrelled among themselves, that he knew of one instance where the marshal of Deseret was "despatched with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants." They were overtaken and brought back and the property restored.

[16] Fort Bridger had been purchased by the church as an emigrant station, 1853.

[17] Kelley, *Excursion to California*, I, 226–227.

[18] Stansbury, *Expedition*, 83.

[19] Stansbury, *Expedition*, 223.

[20] Stansbury, *Expedition*, 230.

[21] Gunnison, *Great Salt Lake*, Pt. II, Chap. VIII.

[22] Jules Remy, *Journey to Salt Lake City*, I, 196.

[23] Remy, I, 196, 197.

[24] Remy, I, 214.

[25] Remy, I, 217.

[26] Chandless, *Visit to Salt Lake*, 54.

[27] Chandless, *Salt Lake*, 35.

[28] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 174.

[29] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 198, 441.

[30] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 216.

[31] Simpson, *Explorations*, 136.

[32] Cooke, *New Mexico and California*.

[33] *E.g.* Captain Brown carried back three thousand dollars with which he planted his stake on the Weber.

Chapter III

[1] White, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 119.

[2] In 1841, according to Wilkes, the export of beaver was two thousand skins at $2 each; sea-otter, five hundred skins at $30 each; elk and deer, three thousand skins at from fifty cents to $1 apiece.

[3] De Mofras states that, in 1841, two thousand horses were sent to New Mexico by this route. They were purchased for $8 to $10, sold for $40 to $50.

[4] A census of foreigners taken in 1840 enumerated sixteen foreigners at Yerba Buena, all Americans, thirty-one at San José, mostly British subjects, ten at Branciforte, American hunters and sailors, thirty at Monterey, English and American merchants, as many more of the same class at Santa Barbara, twenty-three at Los Angeles, American traders and French fruit growers, but only seven at San Diego, the former resort of the drogher ships. The urban population in 1846 was between four and five thousand, *e.g.* San José 600 to 800, Los Angeles 1250, Branciforte 470, Santa Barbara 900, Monterey 500, Yerba Buena 800.

[5] *American Historical Review*, 14 : 77, 89.

[6] Simpson held that under the Convention of 1790, Britain might settle any part of the coast between 42°, the United States boundary, and 38° the northernmost Spanish occupation.

[7] W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years*, 65.

[8] Wilkes, *Expedition*, V, 158, 182.

[9] J. J. Warner printed an article on California and Oregon, in *Colonial Magazine*, 1841, describing advantages of California and proposing a railroad to the Columbia.

[10] *E.g.* Farnham's letters.

[11] Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 148.

[12] Fremont, *Second Expedition*, 232–236.

[13] Tehachapi Pass, according to Bancroft.

[14] Remy, I, 53.

[15] Hastings, *Oregon and California*, 126.

[16] Cooke, *Conquest* of New Mexico, and California, 61.

[17] Cooke, *Conquest*, 34.

[18] Cooke, *Conquest*, 45.

[19] Jones, *Land Titles*, 279.

[20] Jones' report set aside any consideration of the claims of the Franciscans and the Indians. The first were disproved by the law of 1813 by which the missionaries were given only a ten years' usufruct of the tracts

billed under their direction. The report recommended that in the case of the surviving missions, the church, the priest's residence, and two hundred *varas* of land should be granted to Catholic parishes, any other buildings and land to be assigned to the county for the use of public schools, in accordance with the Act of 1833. The rights of the Indians in the mission lands had been recognized both by Spanish and Mexican enactments, but the intent of this legislation had been negatived by the maladministration of recent years. "The number of subjugated Indians is now too small, and the lands they occupy too insignificant in amount for their protection to the extent of the law to cause any considerable molestation." Title to abandoned Indian holdings should properly lapse to the state. Spanish law recognized no rights to the land appertaining to the wild tribes of the interior.

[21] Quoted by Charles Robinson in his *History of Kansas*, 38.

[22] The new-comers were misled by the extravagant prices paid for town lots during the gold craze, when land in San Francisco and Sacramento sold at one thousand dollars per acre. Large tracts of rural land were offered by American speculators at from thirty-seven to seventy-five cents per acre in 1857. — Seyd, *California and its Resources*.

[23] Chandless, *Visit to Salt Lake*, 315.

[24] This report reached Washington in September, '48, and was immediately printed by the *Baltimore Sun*, September 20.

[25] Quoted in Schoonover, *General Sutter*, 180.

[26] The Aspinwall contract provided for an annual subsidy of $199,000 for carrying the mail from Panama to San Francisco and Portland, Oregon. Law secured $290,000 per year for the New York to Chagres service.

[27] Butler King estimated that 15,000 foreigners reached California in 1849 (10,000 of them Mexicans), and 40,000 Americans. The total white population in 1850 was reported by the census to be 115,000.

[28] "These are the most primitive kind of contrivances for grinding quartz. They are circular places, ten or twelve feet in diameter, flagged with flat stones, and in these the quartz is crushed by two large heavy stones dragged round and round by a mule harnessed to a horizontal beam, to which they are also attached. The quartz is already broken up into small pieces before being put into the raster, and a constant supply of water is necessary to facilitate the operation, the stuff, while being ground, having the appearance of a rich white mud." This is mixed with quicksilver to take up the gold, and the amalgam is reduced to its native elements in a retort. — Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 244–245.

[29] Hittell, *Resources of California*, III, 133–135. The Princeton, Josephine, Pine Tree, and Mariposa mines were profitable for a few years, but were not worked after 1865.

[31] Kelley, *Excursion to California*, II, 268–269.

[31] Tyson, *Geology and Industrial Resources of California*, complains in his preface that the administration saw fit to delay publication of his

conclusions while rushing the hasty generalizations of the Georgia senator before the public.

[32] Tyson, *California*, 38.

[33] Shaw, *Golden Dreams*, 120.

[34] Exceptions to this rule are Shaw's *Golden Dreams and Waking Realities*, Carson's *Early Recollections of the Mines*, Helper's *Land of Gold*. On the other hand, Simpson's *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines* reads like a promoter's prospectus.

[35] Carson, *Early Recollections*, 8.

[36] Kelley, *Excursion*, II, 244.

[37] Kelley, *Excursion*, II, 243.

[38] Cf. Seyd's figures, *California*, 67.

[39] A saving of 2 per cent in freights and insurance. — Seyd. More than a million dollars in silver was sent from Mexico on English account to be trans-shipped to Canton.

[40] The miners' code gave permanent control of a water supply to the first appropriator, and he was required to make no compensatory payment to the community. A dated notice stating the amount of water preëmpted was all that was necessary to establish a claim to the flow of a given stream.

[41] A miner's inch is the amount of water which escapes in a working day through an orifice an inch square under a pressure of six inches of flow.

[42] Bancroft estimated the capital invested in ditches and flumes and reservoirs in the seventeen mining counties of California at $2,294,000 for 1854 and $6,341,700 for 1855. Seyd gives the figure $4,587,000 for the eight placer-mining counties in 1858. Hittell's estimate for 1871 is $20,000,000. The investment was a hazardous one, necessitating high returns. The wages of labor constituted a heavy item of expense, the wooden flumes needed constant repairing, and iron piping was not to be had in the first years. When the subsidiary placers were exhausted, the waterworks were almost valueless. According to Hittell's *Resources of California*, there were, in 1871, five hundred and sixteen mining ditches with a total approximate length of forty-eight hundred miles.

[43] Quartz mining is one of the most uncertain of investments, since it is quite impossible to predicate the location or the yield of a vein. There is no business in which it is easier to waste money by inexperience, carelessness or gullibility. Huntley's *California* gives an English investor's shrewd opinion of the chances of success.

According to Ashburner, of the United States Geological Survey, there were, in 1858, at least two hundred and eighty quartz mills in California erected at a cost of $3,000,000; but no more than forty or fifty quartz mines were paying expenses. These were very heavy. The excavation and timbering of tunnels and shafts, hoisting gear and engines, pumps for the removal of water, stamp mills, roasting furnaces, and amal-

gamators, made a sum total of cost which could only be made good by the richest veins. Philip's *Mining and Metallurgy* gives the following data for the yield of the four largest stamp-mills: —

Yield per Ton of Quartz			*Cost of Treating per Ton*
Mariposa.	The Benton,	$8.98	$1.04
Tuolomne.	The Union,	$50.00	$3.81
Calaveras.	Crystal,	$80.00	$8.31
Nevada.	Gold Hill,	$70.00	$2.91

[44] Tyson, *California*, 39.

[45] Hittell, *History of California*, III, Chap. XI.

[46] If a foreigner was working for an American, his employer paid the fee.

[47] Emigration figures of '54, 24,000; '55, 23,000; '57, 17,000.

[48] The United States mint was not established in San Francisco until 1856.

[49] Two hundred and forty-six vessels put into San Francisco in 1856 with a total tonnage of 209,902. Eighty-one of these came from New York and forty-four from other Atlantic ports; forty-two hailed from China and twenty-two from Great Britain. The freights paid on this traffic amounted to $4,592,104, more by $500,000 than in 1855, but less than half the sum for 1853. ($11,752,104. — Seyd.)

[50] Tyson, *California*, XIII.

[51] In 1880 Miller and Lux owned 750,000 acres in California, 100,000 cattle, and 80,000 sheep. — Bancroft, XIX, 67.

[52] A native three-year-old weighed six hundred pounds and was worth but $50, whereas a three-quarter grade animal weighing fifteen hundred pounds would sell for $300.

[53] Thousands died of starvation, and hundreds of thousand were slaughtered for the hides. There were 262,000 cattle in California in 1850, 1,000,000 in 1860, 2,000,000 in 1862, and but 820,000 in 1870. — Hittell, *Industrial Resources*.

[54] The wool clip of California was 170,000 pounds in 1854, 300,000 pounds in 1855, 3,260,000 in 1860, 6,445,000 in 1865, 19,700,000 in 1870, 23,000,000 in 1872, 30,000,000 in 1873. In the Federal census for 1870, California was reported as possessing the finest herds of sheep in the United States and producing the most wool.

[55] Years of drought: 1849–1850, 1852–1853, 1861–1862, 1867–1868, 1871–1872, 1877–1878, 1880–1881.

[56] In 1884 the Supreme Court of the state decided that it was unlawful to so work a mine as to injure adjacent property.

[57] The tilled area was 1,774,000 acres in 1866, 2,992,000 in 1870, and 4,500,000 in 1874. Of this acreage, one-third was in the San Joaquin

valley, one-third on the south coast, and the remaining third north of the Bay, pretty equally divided between the coast and the Sacramento valley.

[58] The average annual rainfall on the north coast was 70 inches; at Cape Mendocino, 40 inches; at San Francisco, 22 inches; at Monterey, 16 inches; at San Diego, 10 inches. The precipitation was less at corresponding points in the interior.

[59] Years of extreme drought, 1850–1851, 1863–1864, 1876–1877.

[60] Two, five, and ten ploughs were used in a gang, each making a furrow from eight to ten inches wide and from four to five inches deep. By this invention, the cost of ploughing was reduced from $3 to forty cents an acre.

[61] The average yield was sixteen bushels in 1867, eighteen in 1868, sixteen in 1869, and thirteen in 1870.

[62] In 1871 there were nine hundred and fifteen irrigating ditches in California, and water was supplied to 90,344 acres, about one-fiftieth of the total area under cultivation. — Hittell, *Resources of California*, 268.

[63] In 1848 there were 200,000 grape-vines in California, the large vineyards being in the neighborhood of Los Angeles, in the San Gabriel Valley, and on the Vallejo estate at Sonoma. Little was done by way of improving the old mission stock until 1853–1856, when some enterprising viticulturists brought Eastern and European vines. The superiority of the foreign grapes both for table use and in the wineries was soon evident, and by 1870 two hundred varieties imported from France, Spain, Germany, and Hungary were successfully produced, the remarkable diversity of soil and climate providing a habitat for each. There were in that year 30,000,000 grape-vines in the state, 25,000,000 in the San Francisco Basin and the interior valleys. The average yield was 12,000 pounds to the acre, double that expected in Germany, France, or the Eastern states. Wineries were maintained in connection with the great vineyards.

[64] The State Agricultural Society, organized in 1854, did much to further the development of the latent resources of California by holding annual fairs, offering premiums for exhibits, calling attention to successful ventures, etc.

[65] The Union Iron Works had their origin in the blacksmith shop of the Donahue brothers, skilled mechanics who began business in 1849. The Pacific Rolling Mills were established in 1865.

[66] In the decade of the Civil War there were 184 sailing vessels and 92 steamers built on the Pacific coast, supplying a total freight capacity of fifty thousand tons.

[67] William Shaw, *Golden Dreams*, 170–171.

[68] William Shaw, *Golden Dreams*, 172.

[69] In 1867 there were fifty thousand Orientals in California, only 35 per cent of these in the mines.

Part V

Chapter I

[1] Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 296.

[2] Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 324.

[3] For an excellent description of the process of planting, cutting, grinding, and boiling, see Olmsted, I, 325–330.

[4] For description of cotton plantation, see Olmsted, II, 176–180. Also Flint, *Recollections of the Past Ten Years*, 325, and Nuttall, *Travels*, 301–302.

[5] Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, 151.

[6] Olmsted, I, 373.

[7] Quoted from *The Cotton Planter;* Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, 187.

[8] Olmsted, I, 366–367.

[9] Olmsted, II, 4.

[10] Olmsted, II, 12.

[11] Boynton and Mason, *Kansas*, 30, cf. 76.

Chapter II

[1] The principle of popular sovereignty is thus set forth in the Act: "It being the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any state or territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

[2] The towns of Lawrence, Topeka, Osawatomie, Pawnee, Grasshopper Falls, Boston, Hampden, and Wabounsee were so founded.

[3] Boynton and Mason, 74.

[4] Boynton and Mason, 13.

[5] Boynton and Mason, 23–24.

[6] Boynton and Mason, 100.

[7] Quoted by Thayer, *The Kansas Crusade*, 185.

[8] The towns of Kickapoo, Leavenworth, Lecompton, Doniphan, and Atchison were founded by the Missourians.

[9] The census of February, 1855, returned a white population of 8601, and 192 slaves. The men entitled to vote were 2905, of whom 1670 were from the Southern states and 1018 from the North; but many of the free state men had gone home for the winter, so that the census did not fairly represent their voting strength. Moreover, the "poor whites" were not usually in favor of slavery.

[10] Of the 6307 votes cast on March 30, 1855, 4908 were found to be illegal.

[11] Robinson, *Kansas*, 229–230.

[12] Higginson, *Ride through Kansas*, 6.

[13] Bowles, *Across the Continent*, 9.

[14] Bowles, *Across the Continent*, 138–139.

Chapter III

[1] Excerpt from the Memorial submitted to Congress in 1846 and printed as Doc. 173, H.R., 29th Congress, 1st sess.

[2] Whitney, *Project for a Pacific Railway*.

[3] Burton, *City of the Saints*, 16.

[4] Simpson, *Explorations*, Appendix.

[5] Fremont, *First Expedition*, 60.

[6] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 102.

[7] *Congressional Globe*, 1850, Pt. II, 1458.

[8] *Congressional Globe*, 1850, Pt. II, 1459.

[9] *Congressional Globe*, 1853–1854, Pt. I, 553–554.

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